AKWESASNE NOTES

Volume 8, Number 3
Early Autumn, 1976

WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DRUMS

Circulation: 82,000
News-stand price:
fifty cents



IN THIS ISSUE

articles on:

FBI Agents' Murder Trials

A New FBI Informer Discovered

Northwest Fishing Rights

Menominee Update

Guatemala Vignettes

Native People in The Philippines

Crow Dog In Prison

A Statement from Carter Camp POW

Alaskan Land Claims Problems Multiply

Letters from Readers

Poetry

Resources

A JOURNAL FOR NATIVE AND NATURAL PEOPLES

HOW IT IS WITH US



Well, do you want the good news first, or the bad news?

OK. First the good news. Two new and able writers have joined the staff of AKWESASNE NOTES to take on editorial duties. Sotsisowah, sometimes known as Johnny Mohawk, a Seneca from Cattaraugus, will begin with the next issue. He is not only an able farmer, singer, and activist, but a historian, philosopher, and essayist. Articles by him have appeared in previous issues of NOTES. He has been a graduate student in American Studies at SUNY/Buffalo.

Then Jose Barreiro, whose sensitive vignettes written on Pine Ridge one year after Wounded Knee were published in 1974 by AKWESASNE NOTES and whose vignettes on this summer's White Roots of Peace trip to Guatemala appear in this issue, will begin to write both book and newspaper material for NOTES and will be in residence here. His general theme will be "Where The Strong Trees Grow" – what makes strong persons, strong People, strong movements? Hopefully, his writings will include an in-depth study of native people in prison, the movement to regain culture and meaning, children in Survival Schools, and other topics.

More good news. We've completed the move of editorial offices to a place in the Adirondack Mountains close to Akwesasne. Accommodations are still crowded and spartan, but the wilderness area is beautiful and affords us the opportunity to be more closely associated with the natural world. Still, there are new demands on our time – water to carry, wood to cut, materials to haul down the long path deep into the forest. Although there are fewer interruptions, we miss the children and visitors. But already, we seem to feel really at home.

The Building Fund announced in the last issue has, in pledges and contributions, a total of $5,989.18, still a long way from our long range goal of $50,000 – but a healthy start. We are grateful to those who have contributed, and we invite others to remember the Building Fund if and when they are able to do so.

◇ ◇ ◇
◇ ◇ ◇

And now the bad news.

Doug and Connie Bradway, who have been with AKWESASNE NOTES since 1972, are leaving to return to Massachusetts for family reasons. Doug has been responsible for design and layout of NOTES, and its posters, calendars and books. He will continue to be producing attractive materials via long distance on a part-time basis. Connie has been responsible for opening the thousand or so letters that arrive here each week – making it over 200,000 letters she has processed during her tenure with NOTES. We hope they will be back with us some time in the future, and although we can hardly imagine what things will be like without them being here, we wish them a smooth path in the Creation.

That means that even more than ever, the "Help Wanted" notice on this page is more urgent than usual, and we invite native people who have been thinking about doing something in the movement to think about coming here for a month, a year, or a lifetime to participate in the important work of communications and consciousness-raising.

More bad news. The complete report we had anticipated on the Guatemala trip just isn't ready yet. And we're missing articles we wanted to do on the American Indian Policy Review Commission, other happenings in Washington, D.C., The Trail of Broken Treaties return to the Capital, happenings in Central and South America. It seems that there is never enough time and never enough pages – but we've started working on the next issue which we hope to have out in just six weeks, funds permitting. (If you haven't sent in your share of money to cover printing and postage – how about October as a good month to do that?)

Actually, with the beautiful colors in the mountains, the sound of the river nearby, the harvest from the gardens – it's hard to think about bad news.

Really, the Creation continues to be good to us, and we continue to learn to live in harmony with all things. We hope it is the same with all of you who read this.

AKWESASNE NOTES
WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DRUMS

ISSN: 0002-3949

AKWESASNE NOTES is the official publication of the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne (People of the Longhouse) and contains (from time to time) Longhouse News, the official publication of the Mohawk Nation at Kanawake.

Recipient: Grant from the World Council of Churches Special Fund to Combat Racism (1975), Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Foundation Journalism Award Special Citation (1973), Marie Potts Award of the American Indian Press Association (1972).

Member: American Indian Press Association and Alternate Press Syndicate.

AKWESASNE NOTES is indexed in the Alternate Press Index.

This issue printed by M.R.S. Printing, Gouverneur, New York.

AKWESASNE NOTES is published five times annually: March, May, July, September, and December. It is published by Program in American Studies of the State University of New York at Buffalo; co-publisher is D-Q University, Box 409, Davis, California.

Editorial and circulation offices are maintained on the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne, near Hogansburg, New York, and on the north side of the reservation at Route 3, Cornwall, Ontario.

Second class postage paid at Hogansburg, New York 13655 and additional entry at Massena, New York 13662.

Postmaster: send form 3579 and all correspondence to:

AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683
telephone (518) 483-2540
PLEASE NOTE NEW TELEPHONE NUMBER!

We've been taking advantage of the cheaper weekend telephone rates to make calls to gather news from around the land. However, many offices are closed, or people have unlisted telephones, etc. If you are "where the action is" and want to have it reported in NOTES, please send us your home phone number so we can call you on Saturday or Sunday.

DO YOU HAVE A RED LABEL?

Look at your address label on this paper. If it is marked in red, this is the last issue you will receive unless we hear from you. We hope you will understand – this is the only way we have of cleaning up the mailing list every so often, since there are no paid subscriptions to expire.

This month, red-labels will appear for Pennsylvania, Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Virginia and West Virginia, and also for Manitoba and Ontario, and France, Italy and the Netherlands.

ALL YOU HAVE TO DO IS WRITE US and your name will be reinstated. This is not an appeal for money, although this might be a good time to renew your support.

Help Wanted

We are grateful to the many persons who came to help with the gardens and summer work, and with the harvest. Now is the time for us to be getting in our wood for the winter, winterizing buildings, and otherwise preparing for the next four to six months of cold weather. Six volunteers are needed for a workcrew forming October 1, October 15, and November 1. If all goes well, the November 1 crew will also be helping to ship out the next issue.

These are good opportunities to see what NOTES is all about, and to help in a significant way at the same time. There are no expenses once you're here, if you're willing to share in what we have. The workcrews will work together as a unit. If you're interested, please write or phone – please don't surprise us.

Regular Staff Needed Too

We really do need additional staff – a bookkeeper/business manager, someone to file our mailing list and manage circulation, persons to write and type, graphic designers and layout people, someone to ship books and materials, and to do maintenance and build buildings.

In considering applicants, first opportunities are given to people from Akwesasne, then other native people, and then all others.

Please – if you can help, write us and let us know. We can't fulfill our obligations to the movement and survival of native peoples without additional help.



Regarding Visitors

Because space is needed to accommodate regular staff and workcrews, particularly during the cold weather, it is difficult for us to accommodate casual visitors for long periods of time. While we will do what we can to extend hospitality, visitors should expect to relate to one of the workcrews, or to limit their visit to a night or two.

All visits should be arranged in advance.

For further information about helping with a NOTES workcrew, visiting, or filling an AKWESASNE NOTES staff position, contact:

John Mohawk
AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683
telephone (518) 483-2540

If you yourself cannot help, please call this notice to the attention of others, post on a bulletin board, or recopy in a newsletter. Thanks a lot!

Will We Miss You When You're Gone?

THINKING ABOUT MOVING? JUST MOVED?

Let us know right away so we can change your address. Going home for the summer? Let us know. If you're not at the address on our list, either the paper will be forwarded at a high cost to you, or it will be destroyed and NOTES will receive a notice for which we have to pay 25 cents. Since 5% or so of our readers do move between issues, that would mean more than $700 cost to us, plus the loss of 3,000 newspapers. So please – write BEFORE you move!

The next issue of AKWESASNE NOTES will be in preparation immediately, and material for publication should be here in October – not later than November 1. Funds permitting, readers should have another issue of NOTES sometime in late November.

NEEDED FOR NOTES

- used large thermal glass patio doors
- back-pack firefighting pumps
- used rugs
- linoleum
- a pocket watch
- a pocket compass
- source of supply for 34-volt electrical equipment
- an apple, pear, or nut orchard to glean
- used blankets & sleeping bags
- new or used warm socks
- Alladin or kerosene lamps & lanterns
- zoom lens for Canon FT camera
- wood cutting gear: wedges, crosscuts, axes
- flashlights
- cast iron pots & pans, crocks
- art supplies
- tools, hammers, saws
- men's & women's jeans
- thermal johns & other warm winter clothing
- a good buy or gift of a tractor
- a good buy or gift of a freezer
- cancelled foreign stamps
- table and desk electric lamps

THIS PAPER COMES OUT WITH LOVE AND ENERGY OF MANY, INCLUDING:

(Our staff here are volunteers. Contributions to the newspaper go entirely to printing and postage costs. Readers' help to make us comfortable, efficient and capable is sincerely appreciated.)

Connie, Doug, Rarihokwats, Kaherahare, Dorothy Thomas, Snowbird, Dorothy Ann, Kanaweienton, Susie Boots, Kahonhes, Katsitsiakwa, Raosennawane, Elmer, Kahratohen & Ma Boots, Sakowentetha, Gary Horse Lightning, Medicine Story & Emmy, Jose Barreiro, Juan Reyna, Gabriel, plus friends and helpers like Peter Stonelight, Harvey & Mama Bear Comer, Boston Joe, Little Dutch Boy, Margie Eucalyptus, Wild Rice, Rainbow, Um Boots, Tommy Cree, Anias Smoke, Francis Bland, Kevin Cree, Holly Field, Hal Malmud, Barbara Smith, Kathleen Shannon, Nettie Tamler, Martha & Igor, Laugh-and-½, Kevin In The Corner, Naomi, Igal, Sotsisowah and many, many more.

HOW TO SUBSCRIBE TO THIS NEWSPAPER

Just write to us, and we'll add your name to the mailing list. There is no fixed subscription price – but that does not mean the paper is free. Printing alone for this issue costs well over $5,000, and rising postage costs will come to about $2,000. Then there are typewriters, ribbons, glue, supplies – and that doesn't include costs of bare maintenance for full-time staff. We are not funded by universities, foundations, government, etc.

Our money comes from our readers, most of it in small donations such as $1, $5, $10. Some people have lots of money, others have none – we ask people to do what they can. If you want the paper, we're glad to send it to you. If you want to help with the costs, we will appreciate that – that's how the Creation's cycles keep moving.

Another issue will be ready for mailing as soon as funds for printing have accumulated. Write:

Dorothy Thomas
AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683
telephone (518) 483-2540

KEEP US STRONG!

This paper cannot exist without the support of its readers – you the human beings who read these words. There are many ways – responsibilities, actually – readers have to keep the paper alive and strong:

– take action on what you read. Write letters, think, give support, change your lifestyle, lend spiritual help, form a community support group.

– send clippings from your local papers. If there is a good photo, ask the newspaper if they will send you a glossy print. Date and identify all clippings. Who will clip in Buffalo? Baltimore? Detroit? Des Moines? Lincoln? Dallas? Flagstaff? Honolulu? Calgary? Winnipeg? Stockholm? Tokyo?

– send us your own articles, essays, book reviews, editorials, letters, poems, photos, tapes. All can be returned upon request. You are the staff of NOTES.

– take the responsibility of covering events for NOTES. Send a completed article, or information, feelings, tapes. Conduct interviews. Record speeches and conferences.

– send us mailing lists. We will send sample copies of the next issue. How about a list of tribal members? claims recipients? urban center addresses?

– sell the paper at a powwow, meeting, church, on your reservation, at the Indian center, in stores, in town, on campus. Great chance to talk about the issues for consciousness-raising. Educate your community. You send us 35 cents for each paper after and if they are sold, or 25 cents each in advance.

– Indian education funds available? Title IV? Library grant? Suggest that your group order books from NOTES to boost their selection of native materials, and to bolster NOTES income.

– form a committee, or go by yourself, to encourage bookstores, poster shops, gift stores, tobacco shops to carry NOTES books, crafts, smoking mixtures, calendars. Tell them to write – or send us their addresses. Follow up in a month to see if they did.

You can be a participant in the native causes by helping to spread the word, to create change, to inform. AKWESASNE NOTES is a part of that. You can work together with us, from your own area, no matter how far away that might be in miles. Everything in this issue of NOTES came from someone who cared – and to you all, we are grateful.

– let us know of people who should have the paper. Native people in institutions, friends, anyone who may want/need to read NOTES.

BACK ISSUES

Volume One (1969) is out of print, and available only on microfilm. There were ten issues that year.

Volume Two (1970) had seven issues. All are now out of print, available only on microfilm.

Volume Three (1971) had nine issues. All are now available only on microfilm.

Volume Four (1972) had six issues. Three are still in print – numbers 3, 4, and 5.

Volume Five (1973) had six issues. Numbers 3,4,5,6 are still available.

Volume Six (1974) had five issues, and all are still available.

Volume Seven (1975) had five issues. All are still available.

Volume Eight has had three issues, of which this is number 3. The other two are still available.

Back issues cost 50 cents each. All available back issues can be obtained for $7.50 – that will be about seventeen of them as supplies hold.

EXTRA COPIES OF THIS ISSUE

Extra copies of this issue are available for further distribution. We can send one copy or a hundred or more. Distributing this paper is useful to raise consciousness about native causes, and it also helps to finance the next issue. On consignment, the paper is 35 cents each. You pay after they have been sold. If payment is made in advance, the price is 25 cents. For $5, then, a person could give 20 copies to friends, a class, or pass them around the reservation or church group. For $25, 100 families on a reservation could each receive a copy.

MICROFILM

AKWESASNE NOTES is available on microfilm and microfiche from a number of sources:

University Microfilms ($4.60 and $6/year)
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48105

Microfilm Corporation of America
21 Harristown Road,
Glen Rock, New Jersey 07452

ACTIVIST THEATRE GROUP STILL FORMING

White Roots of Peace/AKWESASNE NOTES is forming a theatre group to travel throughout North America with consciousness-raising drama. The group plans to begin with a living dramatic experience of the siege of Wounded Knee of 1973 to give natives and non-native people a greater understanding of the meaning of the issues and movement and struggle of native nations.

Human Beings of all ages to make the theatre a reality are urgently needed. Actors, actresses, singers, dancers, speakers, and those with no performing experience are needed. Middle-aged and older persons are especially encouraged to participate. While native people are primarily sought, there are a limited number of parts calling for "white people". The principal requirement is a desire to communicate the truth, to counteract the mis-information of mass media, to interact with people of various backgrounds and beliefs, to work for justice and freedom and harmony upon the earth. The rewards are not money, but emotional and spiritual satisfactions. However, all basic needs of living, food, housing, clothing medical and an allowance for personal expenses will be provided. Applicants are, though, expected to provide their own transportation costs to get here.

The group had planned to begin auditioning in August, but the lack of response from native persons interested in acting has made a postponement necessary. No definite time is now set – as soon as a group can be gotten together, it can begin.

We need to hear right away from any who would like to aid in this project. Write us with a description of your interest, background, age, etc. If you know of people who might be interested in this, please call it to their attention. Please copy or post this notice in schools, native centers, native newsletters.

After auditions, successful applicants will be asked to make a one-year commitment to the theatre project. For further information, contact:

Medicine Story
AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683

COMING SOON !!

1977 Native American Calendar

The 1977 AKWESASNE NOTES calendar is something special. It can be used as a regular calendar – or for those who are trying to restore harmony with the natural world into their lives, it is a moon calendar. There are thirteen "moonths", and each one begins with the new moon, always a time for sacred activity.

This year's calendar is of a different design to make it easier to handle and display – the binding is in the center instead of at the top, and thus the calendar can be shipped flat. However, the size is the same: 17 x 22 inches.

As always, each page is a separate work of art, suitable for framing or posters long after 1977 is past. Artists include Kahonhes, Clayton Brascoupe, Carl Winters and Rokwaho. A reduction of one month's art is shown here.

With each day are important events in native history. Names of months in some native languages are given. The theme for the calendar is "Harmony With The Cycles".

The calendar is now being printed – shipment will be made on November 1 of all orders on hand as of that time. The first run is only 15,000, so place your order now to avoid any wait for a second printing.

Calendars can be sent as gifts, each mailed in a separate envelope to an address you have supplied us, with a gift card with your name and message enclosed. For native organizations, this is a nice way of acknowledging the members. Or we can supply the calendar in quantities for you to distribute as you wish.



Native organizations can use the calendars for fund-raising. In quantities of 50 or more, there is a 50% discount, plus shipping costs. Many groups use this as a major income for their programs, selling many hundreds of calendars on a reservation, campus, in offices and workplaces, churches, meetings. Bookstores or other sales outlets wanting a lesser quantity may order at a 40% discount – and persons can help us by encouraging bookstores and gift shops to sell the calendar for us. Calendar sales are an important source of revenue for the continuation of AKWESASNE NOTES.

Single copies of the calendar retail at $3 each, postpaid, in a large envelope. Order early to avoid disappointment. Write:

AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683
telephone (518) 483-2540

Wounded Knee Related Trials Go On

Cedar Rapids, Iowa

A white middle-class jury saw through the U.S. Government's appeal to racist hysteria here this summer and acquitted two native men accused of the murder of two FBI agents June 26, 1975.

Darrelle "Dino" Butler and Bob Robideau were declared not guilty of all charges on July 16, after five days of jury deliberation. The acquittal is a major blow to the U.S. campaign of harrassments, victimizations, and frame-ups of native activists.

Despite the verdict, however, the U.S. became more determined than ever to prosecute Leonard Peltier, who is in Canada fighting against a U.S. request for extradition. The U.S. quietly dropped charges against the fourth defendant, Jimmy Eagle – no one believed there was any real evidence against Eagle anyhow.

The prosecution case was weak, and the defense used its time to educate the jury on the activities of the U.S. on the reservation.

As the jury foreman pronounced the verdict, the courtroom burst into applause and uproar. Several defense attorneys sobbed in relief. William Kunstler hugged Butler, and even the battle-toughened defense lawyer, a veteran of so many crucial trials, began to cry.

And while the prosecution had not convinced the jury that Robideau, 34, and Butler, 29, had murdered anyone, the defense had the opportunity to try the FBI and won.

The trial had been moved to Cedar Rapids after a jury survey demonstrated that 74% of the registered voters questioned believed the defendants to be guilty before the trial began. A motion to disqualify U.S. District Judge Andrew Bogue was made on grounds of prejudice against native people generally and AIM members in particular. Bogue denied the motion, and his ruling was appealed to the 8th Circuit Court, which denied the relief but quietly made an administrative transfer of the case to Judge Edward McManus.

The Pre-Trial Motions

The defense also filed a motion for dismissal on the grounds that an FBI informant, Estes Jim Stewart, had infiltrated the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee, attending meetings, serving as a security officer with access to confidential documents and legal papers. An attorney on the defense team also submitted a sworn affidavit that the FBI officer in charge of the U.S. investigation in the case and the chief prosecutor "have refused to sign affidavits to the effect that WKLDOC, while preparing the defense, has not been the target of electronic surveillance."

In another motion, the defense requested that assistant U.S. Attorney Robert Sikma be removed from the case because he "deliberately and willfully grossly violated the Federal Constitutional rights" of Jean Bordeaux, a fifteen-year-old Lakota woman. According to the motion, Sikma also deceived the U.S. District Court in South Dakota at a bail hearing for defendant Butler, and later perjured himself by stating there had been no line-up or show-up identification in the case.

In addition to the dismissal motions, the defense also asked for the opportunity to question prospective jurors out of the presence of other candidates.

All motions were denied, and when it came time to select the jury on June 7, Judge McManus – who had earned the nickname "Speedy Eddie" in other trials of AIM leadership – allowed the defense only about five minutes to consider each prospective juror. Kunstler called it "an outrage – worse than the South." In slightly more than a day, seven men and five women were chosen. Five of the jurors worked for Collins Radio Corp., a large Defense Department contractor.

McManus allowed seven exemptions for medical and personal reasons, but did not allow any juror to be stricken for cause. One juror said she would presume guilt on the part of the defendants if they did not take the witness stand, even if instructed differently by the court. Another juror said if he were an AIM member, he would want to have a juror more impartial than himself to be on a panel hearing his case – but McManus also allowed him on the panel.

After the trial, Robideau received word that the Iowa State Ombudsman had investigated his complaint that he was needlessly attacked and beaten by a sheriff's deputy on May 7, and had ruled that Robideau had been subjected to unnecessary brutality. Robideau was thrown to the floor, his head striking the concrete and requiring suturing, when he objected to being illegally fingerprinted. The deputy, Donald Wharton, may face prosecution in the incident.

How Three Men Died on June 26

FBI agents Jack Coler and Ronald Williams, both 28 and from Los Angeles, cruised into the Pine Ridge Reservation on June 26, 1975. They had been on the reservation for some time, part of a large federal armed force backing up the Dick Wilson regime and harrassing Lakota activists and American Indian Movement members. That particular morning, they were supposed to be looking for Jimmy Eagle, who had allegedly gotten involved in the theft and assault of a young white farmhand working for a white rancher on reservation land. Although the FBI seemingly had time to pursue the quest for law and order in cases like Eagle's, scores of native people had been slain on Pine Ridge in 1973, 1974, and 1975 – but FBI agents had not paid much attention to those cases.

There were other visitors to Pine Ridge at the same time. Dennis Banks was on trial in nearby Custer, and an encampment of friends and supporters had set up a "Tent City" on the land of Harry Jumping Bull near Oglala. It was a stronghold of AIM personnel.

Coler and Williams were not greenhorns. In the trial, a Denver private detective quoted a BIA police officer's description of the pair as "abrasive and very arrogant". Williams had even achieved some notoriety because of his preferential treatment of a witness in River Falls, Wisconsin, that had much to do with the declared mistrial in 1974 of Wounded Knee defendants Dennis Banks and Russell Means.

By early afternoon of June 26, both agents were dead. Also shot and killed was Joseph Kills Right Stuntz.

U.S. officials quickly portrayed the deaths of their agents as another massacre of innocent white people by Indians. They said 16 Indian men were wanted for the "cold-blooded ambush". No less than 175 FBI agents and an equal squad of state troopers and Bureau of Indian Affairs policemen started out on a ruthless manhunt conducted with, among other things, tanks and airplanes.

All rights of reservation residents were suspended as the agents ransacked houses and grilled suspects. But they didn't find the persons who killed their two agents. They also didn't bother to look for the person who had killed Joe Stuntz.

Finally, late in 1975, Butler and Robideau, two Oregon AIM members, were arrested and charged with aiding and abetting first degree murder. Also charged was Jimmy Eagle and AIM activist Leonard Peltier.

Cedar Rapids is a conservative industrial center populated by 110,000 persons in a state which pretty well removed all of the native people a century ago except for a tiny settlement of Mesquakie People near Tama. In 1975, at the time Williams and Coler died, McManus' court found three AIM members – Leonard Crow Dog, Stanley Holder, and Carter Camp – guilty of interfering with a postal inspector during the 1973 Wounded Knee confrontation.

And now it was the summer of 1976, with a patriotic burst of Bicentennial Fever everywhere. Cedar Rapids was again invaded by a lot of strange and probably un-American people like William Kunstler and four other New York and Boston lawyers, all wearing their hair in pony tails or on their shoulders. And there was the expected arrival of celebrities Dick Gregory and Marlon Brando, and government heavies FBI-boss Clarence Kelley and Senator Frank Church, plus the braids and beads and beating tom-toms of those fascinating remnants of the Old West, the North American Indians! Buffalo Bill Cody couldn't have gotten together a better cast.

An encampment of friends, family, and supporters of the defendants lived simply out-of-doors enforcing a no booze, no drugs, no weapons policy. Shortly after the trial began, the camp was moved from Johnson County to a site adjacent to the small quiet Linn County town of Bertram. At first, Bertramites responded with a mixture of skepticism and curiosity, but each day that passed without incident seemed to help convince people in each community that they had nothing to fear from the other. The encampment members conducted themselves in the spiritual manner they had proclaimed at the beginning, and the townspeople donated blankets, water, and then gifts of food. On the Sunday before the trial ended, the people of Bertram gave a potluck for the encampment followed by a volleyball game – each team was a mixture of townspeople and native people.



Dino Butler (left) and Bob Robideau before the innocent verdict: "We must all work together to remind the United States that their government is 'for the people'."

"We Never Killed Anyone"

In an unusual move, Dino Butler read his own defense statement in the opening arguments. He flatly denied that he and Robideau had killed anyone. He said they were on trial because the had refused to cooperate with the FBI in its investigation of the agents' deaths. "The U.S. Government is out to make political scapegoats of Bob and I," he told the jury.

He began to educate the jury on what they would have to know in order to understand what was happening in Indian Country. He began to undo the hours of John Wayne and 10th Grade History and 4th Grade Thanksgiving Projects which have infected the minds of most U.S. people. "You have sworn to do what the United States Government has never done with the native people of this country and that is to respect us as your equals, to be unbiased and impartial toward us, and to give us a fair trial in a United States courtroom of justice," he told them.

"This trial concerns all people and their rights," he concluded. "Each day we learn more of government, FBI and CIA misconduct. We must all work together to remind the United States that their government is 'for the people'."



Butler told the jury that "we would not be here today if we could cooperate with the FBI and help solve the deaths of the two FBI agents on June 26. We have refused to cooperate because we strongly feel that the FBI will only shoot and kill anybody they think was involved in the Oglala shootout. We are deeply concerned that there be no more bloodshed." He said their trial was "just a continuation" of a policy of police and judicial harrassment by the U.S. Government. His speech obviously moved both jurors and spectators.

AIM leader John Trudell was one of the first defense witnesses. He told the jury that AIM is concerned about treaties and the rights of human beings. "We have grouped together by our religions and beliefs to educate our own people, and to try to educate white people," said Trudell, a Santee Sioux. We don't want to be statistics. We believe all lives are sacred and everybody is entitled to dignity."

Another defense witness, FBI agent David Price of Rapid City, stonewalled for the agency in his testimony. He said he had no knowledge of FBI surveillance or intelligence programs directed at AIM members.

He told Kunstler that when he travels around Pine Ridge, he carries a revolver and sometimes an M16 rifle. But, he said, he could not remember reservation residents ever telling him they were afraid of the FBI.

Ethel Merrival, a 70-year-old tribal attorney, told grueling tales of the isolation, poverty, and high tension at Pine Ridge. She said that now that she had testified, she was afraid to go back.

William Muldrow, an investigator for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, told of the general belief at Pine Ridge that "life is cheap".

Muldrow told the jury that residents of Pine Ridge had the strong belief that weapons were necessary for protection against attacks from the BIA police, the FBI, and the goon squad of ex-tribal chairman Dick Wilson. "There was no police authority that people could turn to for any assistance – there had been too many attacks in the presence of the FBI and BIA police in which they had done nothing."

The Case of the United States Government

The prosecution was headed by "Curly" Hultman, U.S. Attorney from Waterloo, Iowa, who asserted a direct "chain of evidence" would prove the guilt of Robideau, Butler, Peltier, and Eagle. He called his first witnesses: FBI agents J. Gary Adams, Gerald Waring, and Dean Hughes.

The prosecution said the shooting of the two agents was an ambush, and thus premeditated. But it did not produce any witnesses to say who started shooting first. According to testimony, agents Jack R. Coler and Ronald A. Williams, wearing civilian clothes and driving unmarked cars, drove into the area where they knew the "Tent City" encampment was located. Coler was a SWAT [Special Weapons and Tactics] team member, and the BIA SWAT team was nearby, backing them up. In fact, law enforcement officials had gathered at the reservation in strength in preparation for the Fourth of July and their paranoia was at a peak.

The agents testifying said they were present in the area of the shooting soon after the other agents died. They laboriously explained the sequence of events leading to "frantic" radio transmissions from Coler and Williams. The two had chased a red-and-white van "loaded with Indians". Next came calls for help, and when the other agents arrived, a shootout took place near the Jumping Bull residence, which is some distance from where the agents were found. In that exchange, they said, a BIA policeman named Gerald Hill had shot and killed Joe Stuntz.

Why wasn't Hill ever brought to stand trial, the defense asked. Stony silence and a shrug of the shoulders was the only reply from the FBI agent.

Waring testified that when he heard Williams' radio transmission saying that he and Coler needed help, he and other agents and BIA police circled the entire area in an attempt to locate Williams and Coler. He said his team came under heavy rifle and small-arms fire.

Cross-examination centered on conflicts in the three agents' testimonies. Adams said he found a rifle near the body of Stuntz, while Waring said there were no guns there. In his report submitted after the shootout, Adams failed to mention he had seen Stuntz' body, but he told the court that only the Special-Agent-In-Charge is required to report such facts.

Next came testimony from Dr. Robert Bloemendaal, who determined the agents had each been shot three times, contradicting the government's contention that the agents' bodies were "riddled with bullets". He produced many gory photos, including ones depicting what he believed to be lethal wounds produced by close-range shots.

The jury was hearing quite a bit of testimony – but so far, the names of Bob Robideau and Dino Butler hadn't even been mentioned. Finally, an agent testified he'd found agent Williams' revolver in a Rosebud, South Dakota, house in which Butler and several others were staying. Another ballistics expert said some charred guns found in a car which had blown up on the Kansas Turnpike, a car in which Robideau and others had been riding, "could have" been used to kill the agents.

An FBI fingerprint expert said a thumb-print of Robideau's was found on Williams' car's rear-door handle, but he said that there were fingerprints of several hundred other persons on the same car. Winthrop Lodge, the expert, said that of 708 prints taken from the shooting area, 422 were identified as belonging to persons other than law enforcement officers, and 130 could not be identified. But even the thumb-print was a long ways from proving Robideau had participated in an "ambush" or killing.

Max Marr, an FBI agent from Pierre, testified he had found a gun which belonged to Williams during a raid on Crow Dog's Paradise last September, and he said he also saw Butler on the grounds.

Three witnesses then rounded out the prosecution's "chain of evidence". Wilford Draper, 19, a Navajo, said that he was at the scene of the shootout on June 26, and that he had left the area later that afternoon with the defendants and several others.

Draper said under cross-examination that FBI agents in Arizona had arrested him at gunpoint, thrown him against a truck, handcuffed him, brought him into the office, tied him to a chair, and threatened to charge him with murder if he didn't testify. He said the FBI had promised him a job, a new identity, financial assistance, and a pending misdemeanor charge against him for possession of beer would be dropped. He admitted that during some 22 hours of discussion, prosecuting attorney Robert Sikma and three FBI agents had doctored his testimony with additional information. He said he had lied both to the grand jury and to the jury.

Kunstler asked Draper who had told him a gun the U.S. had introduced in evidence was an AK-15. "Sikma did," Draper said, adding that agent Adams had helped him to identify the guns as well.

"So, all those guns you identified for us today, all that information came from the FBI or Sikma, didn't it?" Kunstler asked.

"Right," Draper replied.

Part of Draper's story was corroborated by Norman Brown, who was 15 at the time of the shootout. Brown, also a Navajo, said his job around the campsite was to chop wood and haul water. When he heard shooting, he rushed toward the shots, assuming that the tribal council goon squad was launching an attack. He said he ran into Draper, Butler, Robideau and Peltier. Butler and Robideau had fired at the assailants from some 200 yards away, and then fled the scene. They were surrounded, however, and the group crawled in culverts and slipped through bushes. Trapped, they prayed. Brown said he opened his eyes to find a bald eagle sitting on a tree top, and that they followed the eagle to freedom. He said the first the group knew that two FBI agents had been shot was the following day via radio.

Brown also testified that he had been threatened with prosecution for the murders, and that the FBI refused to allow him to contact his attorney, Jack Schwartz, before he was interrogated.



Marlon Brando, activist Dick Gregory, and defense attorney William Kunstler arrive at the courthouse in Cedar Rapids for the Butler-Robideau trial.

– Associated Press

The "Tent City" was about a mile from where the agents' bodies were found. While the deaths of the agents were apparently caused by close-range firing, testimony never placed the defendants closer than 100 yards from the scene.

Finally, the Government's star witness took the stand. James Harper, alias David Harden, whose career encompassed convictions for burglary, fraud, forgery, auto theft, grand larceny, escape and assault, insisted that Butler had confided in him that he and Robideau had "wasted" the agents. The conversation was alleged to have occurred while he and Butler were confined in the same Rapid City jail cell.

One of the agents had pleaded for his life, Harper said dramatically, and had told the Indians he had a wife and family. "We wasted 'em anyway," Harper said he had been told by Butler.

"That's a damn lie – I didn't tell him anything," Butler muttered loudly in the courtroom.



Kunstler called Harper a "con man" who'd say anything to make a deal to avoid extradition to Texas and further prosecution. The inmate had first related his "findings" to an FBI agent investigating Harper's Texas jail break. The prosecutor cringed as a defense lawyer asked Harper if he would lie to his wife if he really wanted something. Harper answered, "Oh, sure!"

John Wirtz, 26, said he was in the same cell as Butler in the same cellblock with Harper. Wirtz said Butler was "kind of guarded and didn't say too much. He just said he was going to a federal court hearing and would rather not discuss his case with anybody." He described Harper as a "pretty smooth talker" and "kind of nervous." He said Butler did not trust Harper, and that Harper tried to impress Butler.

Harper, however, was the government's star witness – he was the only witness who actually said that Dino Butler and Bob Robideaux had killed the agents, and he was the only witness who said anything about premeditation.

In what appeared to be a prosecution overkill, Harper also claimed that Butler planned to kill a judge, blow up the hotel where the FBI would stay for the trial, and that a motor home owned by Marlon Brando was used to transport AIM weapons.

With that, the prosecution rested its case.

"Your FBI In Peace And War"

Kunstler and the defense team used the defense case to turn the trial around. Suddenly people were reading in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette* about a century of white intrusions into Pine Ridge, about the mysterious death of AIM activist Anna Mae Aquash, about BIA agents securing alcohol and seducing Lakota teenagers.

The defense called Harry and Cecilia Jumping Bull, owners of the houses at the shootout scene. They testified that although they had been in Nebraska when the shooting broke out, Butler and Robideau had been welcome guests.

Harper's testimony was considerably weakened by testimony of two other persons who testified they too were in the same jail cell as Harper and Butler, and that they had never overheard Butler talking to Harper about the trial. In fact, they said, Butler had been "tight-lipped" about events.

Vine Deloria, Jr., noted Lakota author and attorney, substantiated the fear that is built-in on Plains reservations from the memory of white settlers and their Army protectors. He said there was the expectation "that with any incident that goes beyond the shouting stage, there is a very real possibility that the U.S. Government will come in and kill everyone."

Deloria, a member of Standing Rock who grew up on the Pine Ridge Reservation, said he had not returned to Pine Ridge since Wounded Knee. "I'm scared I might get shot there," he explained.

(continued on next page)



And then, after a ten-day recess, it was time for the big moment – the testimony of FBI Director Clarence Kelley.

When Judge McManus complied with a defense request to subpoena FBI director Clarence Kelley, Kelley wasn't too happy about testifying. In fact, he didn't honor the U.S. District Court order, at first. When Kelley didn't appear as scheduled on July 6, McManus ordered him to appear before him to explain why he should not be held in contempt of court.

The next day, Kelley was in court. The contempt issue didn't come up in open court, however, and Kelley did testify. The defense wanted to get into evidence that the FBI had attempted to discredit AIM by spreading rumors and gossip from supposed informants that would indicate AIM was planning terrorist activities, and that the FBI considered AIM a subversive group and thus kept tabs on its activities and in the process, harrassed AIM members. That attack on the FBI was integral to the defense's effort to show that not only were the defendants not guilty, but that the shootout was an unfortunate incident caused by an FBI-created atmosphere of mutual fear and apprehension between FBI and AIM personnel.



– Associated Press

Clarence Kelley . . . 'AIM's A Nice Group'

But when Kelley took the stand in his first appearance at a criminal trial since he became head of the FBI, he commenced to testify that AIM was a pretty nice group, and had some great guys and the FBI didn't have any problems with it.

"It is my very definite knowledge that AIM has fine goals, many fine people, and some things worthwhile," Kelley told the jury. He went on to say that the FBI did not consider AIM to be objectionable, subversive, or even un-American.

It was at that point that defense attorney William Kunstler introduced into evidence a copy of the FBI's *Domestic Terrorist Digest* that is sent out by the FBI to law enforcement agencies.

"Despite the nice things you said about AIM, the American Indian Movement appears on page 2 of this issue, does it not?" Kunstler asked. Kelley acknowledged how it sure did seem so.

Asked why helicopters and aircraft and battlefield gear are supplied to agents working the South Dakota beat, Kelley said the equipment was needed to protect the agents' lives.

"Is life on the reservation more dangerous than in other parts of the country?" Kunstler asked.

"More dangerous, perhaps, to FBI agents," Kelley replied tartly. "There have been two agents slain there."

"And a lot of native Americans have been slain there too," Kunstler reminded him.

Kelley said his agents use the aircraft to "patrol" the reservations. Testimony was drawn out that they also used M-16 automatic weapons, bulletproof vests, and Army-type clothing.

During the trial, it was learned that the FBI official responsible for the entire reign of terror at Pine Ridge was one Richard Held – recently appointed as Kelley's assistant, the number 2 man in the Bureau. He came to Pine Ridge after the agents were shot and conducted the most extensive, illegal and brutal investigation in U.S. history. Held was also involved in the siege on Wounded Knee in 1973, in which the U.S. illegally used the military. Held also has been involved in COINTELPRO activities against white and black activists in Minnesota, and against the Black Panther Party in Chicago.

Kelley said at one time in his testimony that 175 agents were involved in the investigation into the deaths of its two agents. But he could not recall if the FBI was ever involved in investigating the deaths of native people, not even that of a native man, Joe Kills Right Stuntz, killed in the same incident as the two FBI agents.

Also, Kelley said that informants had not been used against groups like the American Indian Movement. He said that any FBI employees involved were "only to inform on individuals, not the entire organization."

Earlier in his testimony, Kelley said that the FBI disruption program against domestic dissidents had been discontinued, and no other program had replaced it. He said that COINTELPRO had been started in the late 1950s to "still efforts toward violence and acts that might lead to violence in extremist and New Left organizations," and that it was "discontinued later".

Kunstler charged that the FBI drops phony "news leaks" that "psych up" law enforcement officials, causing them to shoot first and ask questions later. Kelley said he knew of no such operations.

Kunstler then produced an FBI teletype, sent out only a few days earlier to FBI operatives and law enforcement officials. The teletype declared that South Dakota AIM "Dog Soldiers" would, over the Bicentennial 4th of July, assassinate the South Dakota governor, burn farmland, assault tourists, raid the state prison, bomb the state capitol, ransack the BIA building. None of this had transpired.

Kelley admitted that the FBI had issued a nationwide alert about possible violence by American Indians over the July 4 holiday without any proof that such events were even planned. Kelley defended the memorandum on the grounds that "we're in the business, the profession, the occupation of preventing violence."

Memorandums like the "Dog Soldier" caper were typical of COINTELPRO activities.

Senator James Abourezk, a South Dakota Democrat, had a personal interest in the FBI teletype – the bulletin named his son, Charlie, 23, as a supplier of weapons to the Indians. It said its information came from "a source with whom insufficient contact has been made to determine reliability but who is in a position to furnish reliable information."

In a Washington press conference, Abourezk had called the FBI's tactics "damned outrageous practices." "It smacks of a total set-up that these unfounded, unverified reports are given such widespread distribution," he said. Abourezk is chairman of the American

GOVERNMENT AGENTS FAIL AS FICTION WRITERS IN 'DOG SOLDIER ALERT'

[This is the complete text of a teletype message transmitted by the FBI to a variety of law enforcement agencies in late May, a message William Kunstler told the Butler-Robideau jury that was designed to psych up law enforcement officials to a shoot-now, ask-questions-later mentality.]

28 1765Z MAY 76
FROM DIRECTOR FBI
TO DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL
ATTN: ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION UNIT
ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL, CRIMINAL DIVISION
ATTN: INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION
U.S. MARSHAL'S SERVICE
U.S. SECRET SERVICE (PID)
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

RE: AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT

UNCLASSIFIED

A SOURCE, WITH WHOM INSUFFICIENT CONTACT HAS BEEN MADE TO DETERMINE RELIABILITY BUT WHO IS IN A POSITION TO FURNISH RELIABLE INFORMATION, ADVISED AS FOLLOWS ON MAY 21, 1976, "DOG SOLDIERS" WHO ARE PRO-AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT (AIM) MEMBERS WHO WILL KILL FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF AIM OBJECTIVES, HAVE BEEN TRAINING SINCE THE WOUNDED KNEE, SOUTH DAKOTA, INCIDENT IN 1973. THESE DOG SOLDIERS, APPROXIMATELY 2000 IN NUMBER, HAVE BEEN TRAINING IN "THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY" (NOT FURTHER DESCRIBED) AND ALSO AN UNKNOWN NUMBER HAVE BEEN TRAINING IN THE DESERT OF ARIZONA. THESE DOG SOLDIERS ALLEGEDLY ARE UNDERGOING GUERRILLA WARFARE TRAINING EXPERIENCES (NOT FURTHER DESCRIBED).

THE DOG SOLDIERS ARE TO ARRIVE AT THE YANKTON SIOUX RESERVATION, SOUTH DAKOTA (WAGNER, SOUTH DAKOTA) IN ORDER TO ATTEND THE TRADITIONAL SIOUX SUN DANCE AND INTERNATIONAL TREATY CONFERENCE. THE SUN DANCE AND THE CONFERENCE ARE TO OCCUR ON THE YANKTON RESERVATION IN EARLY JUNE OF 1976 AND THIS SUN DANCE AND CONFERENCE ARE TO SERVE AS A COVER FOR THE INFLUX OF DOG SOLDIERS. (THE SECOND BIENNIAL INTERNATIONAL INDIAN TREATY CONFERENCE IS SCHEDULED FOR MAY 28 - JUNE 6, 1976, YANKTON RESERVATION).

AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE ACTIVITIES ON THE SIOUX RESERVATION, THE DOG SOLDIERS ARE TO MEET ON JUNE 25, 1976, OR IMMEDIATELY THEREAFTER, AT 20 NORTH STREET, RAPID CITY, SOUTH DAKOTA, THE RESIDENCE OF RENEE HOWELL. AT THIS MEETING FINAL ASSIGNMENTS WILL BE GIVEN TO THE DOG SOLDIERS FOR TARGETS THROUGHOUT THE STATE ON THE FOURTH OF JULY WEEKEND. CURRENTLY SOME DOG SOLDIERS FROM THE "NORTHWEST TERRITORY" ARE IN THE STATE OF SOUTH DAKOTA WATCHING THE MOVEMENTS OF PUBLIC EMPLOYEES AT PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

THE DOG SOLDIERS' ASSIGNMENTS ARE TO BE CARRIED OUT BETWEEN JULY 1 AND JULY 5, 1976. ALLEGED TARGETS ARE AS FOLLOWS: 1. THE CHARLES MIX COUNTY COURT HOUSE, LAKE ANDES, SOUTH DAKOTA WHERE VALVES ON THE HEATING SYSTEMS BOILER ARE TO BE SET (INCLUDING THE SAFETY VALVE) IN SUCH A WAY THAT THE BOILER WILL BLOW UP. 2. STATE CAPITOL, PIERRE, SOUTH DAKOTA (NO FURTHER DETAIL). 3. FT. RANDALL DAM, PICKSTOWN, SOUTH DAKOTA, WOULD HAVE TURBINES BLOWN UP, SHORT CIRCUITING POWER. 4. THE DOG SOLDIERS WERE "ON THE LINE" TO ASSASSINATE THE GOVERNOR OF SOUTH DAKOTA. 5. SNIPING OF TOURISTS ON INTERSTATE HIGHWAYS IN SOUTH DAKOTA. 6. TAKING ACTION TO MT. RUSHMORE. 7. TO "BURN FARMERS" AND SHOOTING EQUIPMENT IN THE WAGNER, SOUTH DAKOTA, AREA. 8. TO ASSAULT THE STATE PENITENTIARY IN SIOUX FALLS, SOUTH DAKOTA, TO ASSASSINATE AN INMATE. 9. TO BLOW UP BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS (BIA BUILDINGS IN THE WAGNER, SOUTH DAKOTA AREA.)

THE DOG SOLDIERS ARE ALLEGEDLY TO BE ARMED WITH M-15S AND CARBINES WHICH ARE HIDDEN IN PORCUPINE, SOUTH DAKOTA, AREA, ON ROSEBUD INDIAN RESERVATION.

SAM MOVES CAMP, AN ACTING AIM MEMBER, PINE RIDGE, SOUTH DAKOTA, ALLEGEDLY TRANSPORTS THE ABOVE WEAPONS FROM RED MAN STREET, NUMBER UNKNOWN, OMAHA, NEBRASKA, TO THE RESIDENCE OF CHARLIE AB OUREZK, PORCUPINE, SOUTH DAKOTA. ABOUREZK, WHO IS INVOLVED WITH THE DOG SOLDIERS, IS THE SON OF A UNITED STATES SENATOR, JAMES ABOUREZK, SOUTH DAKOTA. ADDITIONALLY, SAM MOVES CAMP ALLEGEDLY DRIVES A 1968 OLDSMOBILE, FOUR-DOUR, BLACK OVER BROWN, AND RESIDES ISLA VISTA, NEBRASKA (BELIEVED TO BE A SUBURB OF OMAHA, NEBRASKA).

SOURCE LEARNED THAT DYNAMITE WAS STORED AT THE HOME OF TONY ZEPHIER, GREEN WOOD, SOUTH DAKOTA, IN SEPTEMBER, 1975, AND DYNAMITE WAS ALSO STORED AT THE HOME OF GREGORY FRANCIS ZEPHIER, SR., ALSO KNOWN AS GREG, WAGNER, SOUTH DAKOTA, IN FEBRUARY, 1975.

SOURCE HAS HEARD THAT WILBURT PROVOST, ALSO KNOWN AS WILLIE, IS ONE OF RUSSELL MEANS' "HIT MEN" AND THAT WALLACE LITTLE, JR., ALSO KNOWN AS JUNE LITTLE, WHO IS EXPERT WITH EXPLOSIVES, WAS ONCE TEACHER OF THE DOG SOLDIERS IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

GREG ZEPHIER, WAGNER, SOUTH DAKOTA, IS LISTED AS THE DIRECTOR OF THE AIM, SOUTH DAKOTA, ACCORDING TO JANICE STARK, CLERK, INCORPORATION RECORDS, SOUTH DAKOTA SECRETARY OF STATE, AS OF JULY 18, 1975.

A SECOND SOURCE ADVISED THAT RUSSELL MEANS HOLDS NO NATIONAL OFFICE IN AIM; HOWEVER HE IS MEMBER OF THE AIM CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THE DECISION-MAKING BODY OF AIM.

THE AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT (AIM) WAS FOUNDED IN MINNESOTA IN 1968, DEDICATED TO IMPROVING CONDITIONS FOR THE AMERICAN INDIAN. AIM LED AND PARTICIPATED IN CONFRONTATIONS WITH LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN SCOTTSBLUFF, NEBRASKA, AND THE RAPID CITY-CUSTER AREAS OF SOUTH DAKOTA. AIM LED THE TAKEOVER AND OCCUPATION OF WOUNDED KNEE, SOUTH DAKOTA, IN FEBRUARY-MAY, 1973.

Indian Policy Review Commission, and has frequently aroused the ire of federal officials for his strong advocacy of native rights.

Mentioned in the teletype were Charlie Abourezk, Rennee LeDeaux, and Sam Moves Camp. They issued a joint statement June 25, denying any knowledge of Dog Soldiers or gunrunning. "We believe it is a fabricated report to serve the FBI's own purposes," the statement said.

"This memo serves as a disguised "hit list" for the various law enforcement agencies across the country, inviting open harrassment of the individuals named in it, and at worst, providing possible targeting for political assassinations. . . We feel that his memo is evidence of a massive domestic intelligence and para-military operation that is currently in existence within this nation against those who are working for the rights of native Americans.

Sam Moves Camp has already been a victim of one of those disruptive programs by the U.S. Government when he was tailed by the FBI all the way to Toronto, Canada, en route to a spiritual conference in Sudbury. This information was purposefully leaked by the FBI to a contact participating in the conference seeking to cause anger and disruption among those attending. In fact, the conference had to be postponed.



Charlie Abourezk

. . . a senator's son on the FBI's hit list?

In the Butler-Robideau trial, Kunstler forced Kelley to admit the whole teletype was fictional. "Is it not a fact, Mr. Kelley, that there is not one shred of proof in the hands of the FBI?"

"I know of none," the FBI director replied.

Kunstler then asked how law enforcement officials would respond to receipt of such information from the FBI.

"I think law enforcement has reached the stage in professional standards and performance that we are not stampeded and frightened into a defensive position, or build up fortifications, and be repressive," Kelley answered.

"The information was informative, to alert them," he added. "It's not to be taken as truth, but to alert to the possibilities."

Kunstler also introduced into evidence a bulletin from the Connecticut State Police. He said bulletins such as these give the police a pretext for creating incidents and killing militants. The bulletins said that groups, including AIM, Students for a Democratic Society, and the Brown Berets were planning terrorism that included killing "a cop a day in each state".

The Connecticut document mentioned Rudolfo (Corky) Gonzalez, who was identified in the bulletin as a leader of the Brown Berets, and said that he had in his possession a rocket launcher, explosives, hand grenades, and 10 to 15 M-16 rifles.

Gonzalez was called as a witness – over the objections of the prosecution – and denied that he possessed such weapons, or that there were plans to attack the police.

He said that the Brown Berets were now practically defunct – and that he had been chairman of the Crusade for Justice, a Denver civil rights organization, for years now.

The defense contended that such alerts are provocative, and create a climate for confrontations between law enforcement officials and native people – exactly the scenario the defense says happened in the June 26 shootout.

As a result of the teletypes, the American Indian Movement and the Crusade for Justice filed a $2.5-million civil suit September 1 against the Connecticut State Police and the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. They are accused with distributing false and incitive information about the two organizations to police across the U.S. and causing police forces to set up contingency plans for apprehending native American and Chicano individuals.

The Detroit police, for example, named their contingency plan "Operation Hailstone" and read the telex message to every shift every eight hours for days. "I'm not going to have any of my men shot in the head," deputy police chief Joseph Areeda said.

Lawyers traced the origin of the telex to Robert Money, chief of investigation of the Connecticut division of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. He sent it to the Connecticut State Police, and from there it went to police across the U.S. through an FBI network.

"This is an example of the false propaganda circulated about the American Indian Movement and the Crusade for Justice, just as they did with the Black Panthers, intending to incite local police into actions against them," stressed Jack Schwartz, the defense attorney local police into actions against them," stressed Jack Schwartz.

The day the bulletin was issued, the Immigration Service raided the restaurant of Mario Cantu in San Antonio, Texas, looking for "undocumented aliens". The raid turned into a seige when Cantu refused to allow the officers to enter without a warrant.

It's not just native people the FBI has under surveillance. In mid-June, the FBI sent the CIA a report on an hour-long peaceful demonstration involving 16 persons who picketed in front of the Federal Building in Bowling Green, Kentucky, to protest the trial in Cedar Rapids.

The Central Intelligence Agency told newsmen the FBI report was "a mistake", that "it will be thrown away" and was a "non-item." It said it had kept telling the FBI that it didn't need domestic intelligence information any more because "the agency has stopped the whole business" of spying on numerous dissident U.S. citizens and political groups.

A spokesman for the FBI said true, it had stopped sending over routine information, but this particular report had been sent because the FBI didn't want to be put in the position of "ever failing to let them know something that in the future might be of importance to the CIA."

Kelley lost his cool once and added weight to the defense's argument. Kunstler had set a scenario of Pine Ridge's being an extremely violent community, with armed citizens afraid of strangers, as well as FBI and BIA police. Kunstler then pressed the director to acknowledge that agents were heavily armed.

"Two agents were slain," Kelley said, his voice rising. "There was reason to fear for agents' lives! I don't care who it is – if people are threatened, they have a right to protect themselves," Kelley commented.

"Exactly. Exactly," Kunstler remarked with a satisfied tone. "No more questions, your honor."

As Kelley left the courtroom, he slammed his palm to the door.

Also called as a witness was Senator Frank Church, Democrat from Idaho, who as chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee was needed for information on abuses uncovered during his committee's 15-month investigation of U.S. intelligence agencies. Church testified July 9 that "certain groups were targeted for surveillance at least in part because of political attitudes" and he listed the American Indian Movement and the Black Panthers as targeted groups. He said his committee had not pursued the Indian matter, however.

"Did your committee find that a number of actions taken by the FBI resulted in serious bodily injury to the targeted organizations?" Kunstler asked the senator.

The same day, the court heard testimony by Francisco Milan, a private detective who had interviewed Marvin Stoldt, the BIA police officer who was first on the scene after the June 26 shootings. Milan testified that Stoldt told him the slain agents had been "abusive and arrogant" and that he expected trouble to come from their being on the reservation because of "who the agents were." Stoldt was a member of a special weapons and tactics (SWAT) squad organized three weeks before the shooting to give the FBI assistance on the reservation.

"The main point we brought out in questioning Kelley and Church," explains defense attorney Bruce Ellison, "was the fact that counter-intelligence operations continue even now, and they include sending out incorrect information about organizations to state, local, and federal law enforcement agencies. They are sent out with the idea that they will possibly lead to confrontations in which the FBI would be able to keep



its hands clean. That's how they did it in the [1969] murder of [Black Panther leaders] Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. They psyched up the Chicago Police Department . . . and the police went and did it."

Ellison noted that the June 26 deaths also involved false information. There had been a drunken brawl in which a pair of boots was stolen. "Usually this type of matter is handled by the BIA police, but suddenly, the FBI stepped in," looking for Jimmy Eagle. "Agents were told by their senior officials that they were looking for people involved in a kidnapping, assault with a deadly weapon, and robbery." Ellison concluded that "the Government, even with its own personnel, will give false information so "accidental" acts will be carried out."

In the prosecutions's closing arguments, prosecutor Curley Hultman frantically pointed to maps and photos of dead agents. His performance was impressive, but he could never prove the defendants had killed anyone, let alone in a premeditated ambush.

Kunstler summed up for the defense: three men – two FBI agents and a native youth – were dead, and everybody regretted that. But what had caused their deaths? He asserted that FBI policies caused agents to see native people as animals and merciless savages. He called the reservation a place "peopled by human beings who live in fear and a place where unsolved murders and assaults proliferate."

The incident, Kunstler said, "was a logical extension of the Cowboys-and-Indians mystique.

The jury was out five days considering its verdict. Twice it sent word to Judge McManus that it was "hopelessly deadlocked". McManus refused to declare a mistrial. He called the jury into open court for additional instructions, and told the jury to redouble its efforts. But, he said, he didn't think another jury would be "more intelligent or more competent".

The jury, after several days of wrestling with questions of self-defense, proclaimed the defendants innocent.

Jury foreman Robert Bolin said the panel "never believed Robideau or Butler actually killed anyone. We never believed they actually pulled the trigger."

Defense counsel Jack Schwartz said he felt the prosecutors "knew from the start they had the wrong people and they went after the two defendants because they were members of AIM." Schwartz said they had a "fair jury, but it wasn't a fair trial – a fair trial would have been no trial at all."

Dino Butler's father, Chester, who each day carried a sacred pipe to the defense table, summed things up by saying, "My son told me he didn't kill anybody, and he has never lied to me. If there was any justice in this world, I knew they would be found innocent."

Another summary comment was made by Vernon Bellecourt. "I think this jury saw who the real terrorist organization was – and it wasn't the American Indian Movement."

The influential *Des Moines Register* editorialized that the reaction to the verdict was a reflection of the growing antipathy toward the FBI as a result of congressional revelations of its unlawful activities, which, it said, "have tended to give credence to earlier suspicions about the agency's motives and tactics toward militant groups protesting government policies. The American people expect their government to come to court with clean hands. The outcome of the Cedar Rapids trial is a measure of the public's doubt."

Both men remained in custody despite the victory. When Robideau was indicted, he was being held at Wichita, Kansas, after being convicted December 11 of transporting illegal weapons and explosives from South Dakota into Kansas. He had been arrested in the Great Kansas Turnpike Bust that had hoped to net AIM leader Dennis Banks. He was sentenced to seven ten-year terms and two five-year terms to run concurrently.

Butler was taken off to McNeill Island Penitentiary in Washington State. However, in late September he received the news that the 8th Circuit Court of Appeals had reversed his conviction on a charge of possessing firearms during the raid on Crow Dog's Paradise in September, 1975, and he was released.

Contributions for the legal defense/offense arising from Wounded Knee and its aftereffects can be sent to a special fund-raising office at:
Wounded Knee Legal Defense/
Offense Committee
POBox 4287
Omaha, Nebraska 68104

[Thanks to Jose G. Perez and The Militant, Pamela Huey and United Press International, Zodiac News Service, The Indian Voice, Georgia Straight, Content, Larry Still and the Vancouver Sun, Seattle Post-Intelligencer, the Native Study Group, Virginia Tyson and Phyllis Mensing of the Associated Press, James Parson and the Minneapolis Tribune, Jerry Oppenheimer and the Washington Star, Grace Lichtenstein and Paul Delaney of the New York Times News Service, Liberation News Service, The Conspiracy, The Black Panther, and especially to Tim Fay writing for the North Country Anvil, an alternate newsmagazine published at POBox 37, Millville, Minnesota 55957, for information used in this article.]

U.S. Prosecutors Move Against Peltier

Vancouver, British Columbia

The last defendant the U.S. has to try in the death of the two FBI agents June 26, 1975, is imprisoned in Canada, and waging a strong well-supported struggle against a U.S. demand that he be extradited back across the border to stand trial. He is Leonard Peltier, a Turtle Mountain Chippewa, member of the American Indian Movement.

On June 18, a Canadian court ruled that legally, Peltier was subject to extradition. However that decision is being appealed, and if the appeal fails, efforts will be made to persuade Minister of Justice Ron Basford that since Peltier's case is a political one, Canada should not force him out of the country.

Peltier was apprehended in Canada at Smallboy's Camp in northern Alberta while he was on the FBI's "Ten Most Wanted" List.

Mr. Justice William Schultz ruled there was sufficient evidence for a *prima facie* case for Peltier to stand trial on charges of attempted murder in Wisconsin, for the allegations of murder of the two FBI agents at Oglala, and burglary in Oregon while he was a fugitive. However, he found insufficient evidence for Peltier to be committed for trial on another charge of attempted murder in Oregon.

The defense had contended that Peltier came to Canada to seek political asylum, and that a war had been taking place between native people in South Dakota and the U.S. Government.



— Seven Eagles photo

Leonard Peltier and Canadian guards . . . "these are not crimes – these are political acts in which our people stand for their rights of self-determination, self-dignity, and self-respect against the cruel and oppressive might of another nation."

At the Butler-Robideau trial, a key government witness, Wilf Draper, told the jury that a person known as Myrtle Poor Bear was not around Oglala on June 26 when the FBI agents died. Poor Bear's affidavit was the major piece of evidence to commit Peltier for extradition to South Dakota. Poor Bear was also the major witness against Russell Means in his trial for murder. She has admitted that she is a paid worker for the FBI.

In Vancouver, Peltier's defense lawyers Don Rosenbloom and St Stuart Rush of Vancouver maintained that Peltier's alleged crimes are offenses of a political nature, and as such, he cannot be surrendered to the U.S. under the provisions of the Canadian Extradition Act.

The attorney reminded the court that Section 21 of the Act provides that "no fugitive is liable to surrender" if it appears his alleged offence is of a political character, and that under section 15, the judge is obliged to hear any evidence to show that the fugitive is accused of an offence of a political character.

Bellecourt told Mr. Justice Schultz that there was a "dual system of justice" working against native people in the U.S. When asked what he meant, he replied that in recent months, a total of $750,000 in bail bonds has been posted in U.S. courts by AIM members. "But other people, such as Nixon, Erlichman, Dean and Mitchell violated the law and yet not one dollar in bail was ordered by the courts," he pointed out.

Asked by Rosenbloom about AIM's over-all objectives, Bellecourt said it is to "bring about the political, economic, and territorial independence" of all native nations in the U.S. and Canada.

In his statement, Peltier said the charges against him are a "continuation of past North American governmental policy of oppressing Indians by using the court system against our people."

Speaking of Pine Ridge and other reservations, he said native people are being attacked and murdered – "yet no one is being called a criminal in the courts for the commission of these crimes.

"When colonial white society invades and occupies our territories, these are not called criminal acts. But when the native people stand up and resist, those acts are considered criminal. But these are not crimes – these are political acts in which our people stand for their rights of self-determination, self-dignity, and self-respect against the cruel and oppressive might of another nation."

Peltier told the court that the fight of the native people to better this existence has been met with persecution by the U.S. Government. "These political persecutions are aimed at the American Indian Movement. This is why I am standing here today before this court in shackles. Will the Canadian system of justice and its authorities, knowing of the abuses, be used as a tool of the corrupt American state? I am asking this court and this country to grant me political asylum."

"Mama! They're Beating The Indians!"

Justice William Schultz delivered his judgment in closed court after more than 40 spectators had been forcibly removed from the courthouse. His order to clear the building precipitated an ugly confrontation between spectators and police that left bloodstains on the white floor tiles in the corridors of the courthouse.

Peltier's arrival in court had been greeted by salutes and cheers from his supporters. When Schultz entered the courtroom and the bailiff commanded "All rise!", the spectator gallery remained seated. But a few moments later, when Schultz asked Peltier to rise to hear his judgment, the entire gallery rose with clenched fists held high as Peltier got to his feet.

The spectators ignored Schultz's demands that they sit down. Schultz angrily declared "there are some people here for the purpose of creating disorder. I am here to deliver judgment – be seated!" But the crowd remained standing. Schultz called an adjournment and ordered police to clear the court.

Although the spectators were both native people and Canadians, the officers began to concentrate their pushing and shoving on the native supporters.

Bradley Big Bear, a Cree, was held on the floor by six officers, manacled, and dragged away. Rick Nicols, another AIM member, was also detained – both were later released without charge.

A little girl whose father is a native man was in the courtroom with her mother, who is white. She screamed as she watched the officers beating the native people: "Mama! They're beating the Indians! I'm Indian – please don't let them beat me!"

At that point, an officer attempted to grab the girl from her mother, commanding, "Give her to me! What kind of a mother are you to allow your child to see this?" The little girl screamed the louder. Another guard came along and offered to escort the mother and child out a side door. "Please," he pleaded. "You don't want your little girl to see this – I can't bear to look at it myself."

While the support group stood outside the courthouse and sang the AIM anthem, Schultz reconvened court and delivered his 100-page judgment. In his decision, he said there was sufficient evidence to establish a *prima facie* case, evidence that would cause Peltier to be tried if charged in a Canadian court, and thus he was extraditable. He rejected the complex legal arguments of Rush and Rosenbloom.

While Schultz was considering only the legal side of the case, he did comment on the question of political asylum: "There is no evidence that Peltier came to Canada to seek political asylum. He came to escape apprehension as a fugitive from justice." Only the Federal Minister of Justice, Ron Basford, is able to grant political asylum.

At the conclusion of the hearing, Rush pointed out to Justice Schultz that his decision had been delivered in a closed and locked court room. He said he would have interceded with the demonstrators to clear the court peacefully. "There was no need for the tremendous show of force by the sheriffs," Rush said.

"I am really not interested in that aspect of the case," Schultz said as he adjourned the court.

The attorneys have filed an appeal of Schultz's ruling in Federal Court, a process likely to take up much of the autumn. Meanwhile, Peltier remains in solitary confinement at Oakalla Prison. A hearing on the appeal is scheduled for mid-October.

During his imprisonment, Peltier was given honorary citizenship by the Kwickwasutainook People of the Kwawkgewlth Nation, which gave Peltier the name "Gwartheelaas, meaning, "Leads the People". The group also gave Peltier land to establish him with a "Canadian residence".

Although Peltier has never been convicted of a crime, when he leaves his death row cell, he is in chains. However, his defense has won broad support. A defense committee has been organized in Canada, building a broad movement of public pressure across Canada to prevent Peltier's extradition.

Letters and telegrams supporting Peltier's contention that he is a political refugee and should be allowed to remain in Canada, should be sent to:

Hon. Ron Basford
Minister of Justice
House of Commons
Ottawa, Canada

Support is also needed by:
Leonard Peltier Defence Committee
1855 Vine St.
Vancouver, B.C.
telephone (604) 736-8944

One person who was to have been a defense witness in the Butler-Robideau trial in Cedar Rapids was killed in February. Anna Mae Aquash's body was found on the Pine Ridge Reservation and a local coroner hired by the BIA ruled her death had been caused by "exposure". Her body was buried before her relatives were notified. When her identity was known, friends, family, and the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee had the body exhumed and an independent pathologist performed a second autopsy. He found that Anna Mae had been shot by a .38-caliber bullet in the back of her head.

She was a friend of Peltier's. Many persons believe the FBI was involved in her death.

Speaking in Vancouver, Russell Means called her murder an "assassination" and "execution" carried out by government agents.

The circumstances of her death and the subsequent cover-up is an example of the dangers to Peltier's life if he were to return to the U.S., his attorneys point out.



Speaking on behalf of Canada offering political sanctuary to Peltier, Means said that "if Canada was a nation concerned with its citizens' well-being, Parliament and the Minister of Justice would demand and secure a just investigation through the UN which would confirm the FBI execution and political persecution of AIM." While External Affairs Minister Allan MacEachen asked the U.S. State Department to investigate, Means said this was a "half-hearted effort" which "once again affirms to the world that Canada is only a colony of the U.S. and a lackey waiting for orders and direction from the U.S."

Anna Mae Aquash resided on a Nova Scotia reserve, and had been active on behalf of Canadian native people who had emigrated to Boston.

Although five Canadian organizations had urged the Canadian Government to take an active interest in the Aquash slaying, there has been little reaction. Even the Canadian press has barely mentioned the case, and editors have turned down reporters' stories as "lacking interest" because of its complexities.

A STATEMENT BY CARTER CAMP — PRISONER OF WAR

For a long time, our People have been fighting and working towards freedom from the invading Europeans. As the struggle progressed or regressed from the time when various nations fought to retain their land and independence to the in-system resistance of the present-day activists, our People have become accustomed to regarding themselves as "Americans" or "Canadians". This error will be one of the hardest for our people to overcome.

It's sad that even some of our foremost leaders are still confused enough to seek reform within a system of government that has proven so deadly to our people.

In order to survive as a people, we must come to realize that the U.S. Government has no goal other than assimilation or eradication of the Red Nations. At no point in U.S. history can there be found a policy the Government carried out that was beneficial to the various nations.

The large Cherokee Nation of the Southeast even went so far as to change their way of life so completely that they mirrored the U.S. people in almost every respect, including clothing and social mores, from constructing townships and farms to instituting a white-based legal system. Christianity became their dominant religion – they attempted to participate in the U.S. in every way they possibly could. But were they finally accepted as Americans themselves? Never.

We all know the story of the Trail of Tears. When the Europeans decided that they wanted the Cherokee land for themselves, the highest court in the invaders' system couldn't save them. They were dispossessed of their land, homes, and belongings, and many lost their lives as they were kicked out of what was then the U.S.

A study of the last 200 years of our history shows this atrocity repeated time after time. If our question is: "Can we be both proud Red People and American?" they have answered us very clearly – "Hell, no.!" Their answer is that we must give up those precious things which bind us together as a people and fling ourselves into a melting pot which always melts out white, or we must be erased from the face of the Earth.

After years of brainwashing our People about their intentions, and lying about the effects of Capitalism, the U.S. people have succeeded in convincing many of our People that their solutions are correct indeed. The sad result is many Red People blithely follow the way of the Europeans, convinced they can remain Indian while serving their U.S. masters. Of course, liberal doses of alcohol, drugs, programs and propaganda help foster that illusion.

Those of us who desire freedom and sovereignty for the Red Nations face our greatest task in fighting for the minds of our people against decades of insidious U.S. brainwashing. Re-education or counter-education must become a much-used tool if we would achieve our desire of uniting the people.



– United Press International

Carter Camp, left, and Leonard Crow Dog – both in chains – on their way to arraignment in 1973 on charges arising out of the seige on Wounded Knee. Camp was convicted, but failed to show up for sentencing. He was later apprehended by the U.S. in Chicago, and taken to the Federal Medical Center at Springfield, Missouri. In mid-September, the 8th Circuit Court of Appeals reversed his conviction, which should have set him free. However, he is now serving time for "failing to appear for sentencing" – the sentence now voided by the appeals court decision. This statement printed here was sent to AKWESASNE NOTES by Camp from federal prison.

The United States is a political entity based on the errors of Capitalism. Therefore, to insure resistance by the masses of our People, we have only to foster a clear understanding of the animosity between Capitalism and People's freedom.

I believe we must go beyond the rhetoric of broken treaties, broken promises, lost lives and U.S. atrocities. This served us well when our struggle was for civil U.S. rights, or when we wanted to influence public opinions through guilt feelings. When we still had hope for reform within the system, it worked for us to explain to the U.S. people the illegality of their government actions against Red People. With brilliant people like Vine Deloria and Hank Adams proving in treaty after treaty that we should be sovereign even under U.S. law, it behooved us to apply pressure from within the system.

However, I think it's now plainly set before us that the system will never reform.

A truthful look at U.S. Capitalism will show that far from reforming, the system *exists* by keeping a majority of people poor and oppressed.

If the U.S. were to reform and free the Red Nations, wouldn't they have to free the colonies in South America, Asia, and Africa? That's difficult for them to do, because without these colonies to support the U.S. with ripped off raw materials and cheap resources, Capitalism would quickly collapse of its own weight.

In reality, reform has never been a viable goal. It was set before us by the U.S. people – not by ourselves. While we pressed for reform over the last 86 years, the U.S. busily built the immense technological police-state we're now faced with fighting. They become ever more established on Indian lands and in Indian minds.

Now that we have turned to the issues of sovereignty, independence and People's Government are our last hope for remaining Red People. Actually, these were our only hopes all along. As we examine the issues, we find that their achievement is closely intertwined with the struggle going on worldwide against Capitalism/Imperialism. We find that if we truly want to free ourselves from the yoke of oppression, we must ally ourselves with those people who are struggling around the globe against imperialist aggression. We are too few and too weak to even dream of winning otherwise.

So far, most of our leaders have called for the assistance of progressive people on purely humanitarian, emotional grounds. We outline the terrible things that the U.S. has done to the native people, and beg their aid in the United Nations or before the World Court.

So far, we've received much sympathy – but little concrete aid. I believe that the response of our prospective allies will be much more positive when we can explain why it would be in *their* best interests to help us join the community of free people's governments. We can hardly seek aid from those countries who have been fighting long and hard for freedom without a clearly-drawn political program which will show our dedication to freedom for all poor and oppressed people.

If we begin to face up to our responsibility to halt or at least impede the exportation of capitalist oppression around the world, then we can rightfully expect people to support us internationally. The immense warmaking machine of U.S. oppression is assembled right here on our homeland – should we sit idly by while it is used against the very people we're asking to support us in the international community? Shouldn't these potential allies ask us why the lead mined in Quapaw Country ends up in a bullet that kills a freedom fighter in Zimbabwe? And what can Indian folks do to prevent it?

Will Alaskan petroleums be piped across Indian Country to grease the U.S. war machine? Will Navajo uranium be used when the U.S. decides it wants a holocast? Will Cheyenne or Crow coal be used to melt the copper stolen from South American people? Are there missiles based in Sioux Country ready to devastate our friends? Do U.S. pipelines, highways, powerlines and railroads freely traverse Indian Country, constantly used as a medium of war?

We need to correctly answer these questions before we can proudly join the worldwide network of people struggling for liberation.

The People of our Nations – with their warrior societies – bear the direct responsibility for defining our future direction and deciding on our future actions. Careful study must proceed the creation of a guiding political line of thought. With constant discussion, change, correction, criticism and study we can devise a basis for the political foundation of our renewed nation.



By immediately translating our words into action, we can rally the people to the defense of the sovereign Red Nation. As more and more Red People are drawn out of the struggle to reform and into the struggle for sovereignty and liberation, new leaders and new ideas will emerge to further strengthen the growing base of the Red Nation. Then we, the native American people, will finally be in a position to contribute our own unique ideas and values to the ongoing revolution towards a new and better world.

– Carter Camp
Ponca Nation
Prisoner of War

JERRY ROY BANISHED FROM WHITE EARTH BY STATE JUDGE

Mahnomen, Minnesota

Jerry Roy's office is next to his home in a rural area here. Last November 11, a colleague rushed over to Roy's home to tell him he had just been forced – at gunpoint – to get out of the office.

Roy grabbed a gun and rushed out. He saw about nine armed men carrying his office furniture out, and throwing it on the ground. They also were carting out files, dumping the papers into a bonfire.

One of the men yelled at another, indicating Roy – "Kill the son of a bitch!" As the assailant raised his gun, Roy fired in self-defense, hitting the man in the elbow.

Roy was immediately shot down by the others – shot in both shoulders, in the face and just above the heart.

When the police arrived, the men told them that they had only wanted to meet in the office, and had moved the furniture outside because there wasn't enough room. They denied burning files, saying they were just cleaning up some trash.

Roy was arrested on two counts of aggravated assault, found guilty, and was sentenced to one year in prison, and was ordered banished from his home and from the area for ten years.

Doesn't make sense? Add the missing piece of the puzzle – Jerry Roy is a state leader of the American Indian Movement. The office was the national office of the American Indian Movement at the AIM Survival Farm on the White Earth Reservation. His story, as he tells it above, occurred shortly after FBI/CIA agent Doug Durham met in a nearby community with right-wing groups and local law enforcement officials.

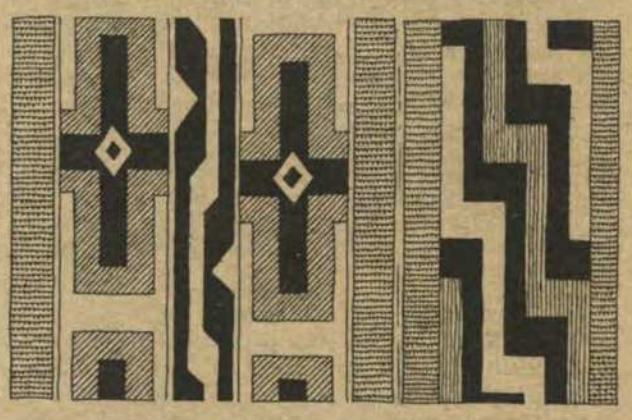
State Judge Warren Saetre of Crookston defended his decision of banishment of Roy from the reservation, where he was born and raised. "I know you're not supposed to banish people," Saetre said, "but I thought it would restore peace in the area." Saetre went on to tell Randy Furst, *Minneapolis Star* staff writer, "I shouldn't make these comments – I wish you wouldn't publish this."

Douglas Hall of Minneapolis, Roy's attorney, has appealed the sentence.

Jerry Buckanga, a member of the White Earth Council and reservation secretary, was outraged at the judge's decision, saying it makes "the whole idea of self-determination for Indians a charade." He added, "I didn't think judges went around doing this anymore."

All the men who confronted Roy on November 11 were native men. Vernon Bellecourt, national field secretary for the American Indian Movement, had just moved the AIM office from the Twin Cities to White Earth prior to the shooting. He said that the files which were burned included Wounded Knee Legal Defense/ Offense Committee files as well as lists of AIM supporters and financial records. Bellecourt said there had been friction between the American Indian Movement and the group which attacked the office in what he said was "an attempt to destroy" AIM.

"It has all the earmarks of an FBI provocation," Bellecourt said, "with the pitting of Indian people against Indian people."



Roy was tried by an all-white jury. The grand jury which indicted him was also all-white – although Kraker is quick to point out there was one Hawaiian on the panel. Kraker said he had urged Judge Saetre to give Roy ten years in prison. Roy was originally charged with two counts of attempted first-degree murder.

MEANS

Rapid City, South Dakota

Russell Means was acquitted by a South Dakota Circuit Court jury of aiding and abetting murder, the most serious of a sequence of four years of legal harrassment to which Means has been subjected since he gained widespread attention as a key participant in the 1973 seige on Wounded Knee.

Means was accused of participating in the March, 1975, shooting of Marty Montileaux in a Scenic, South Dakota, bar. Another AIM member and companion of Means, Richard Marshall, earlier was convicted of the murder and was sentenced to life in prison.

It was the seventh time Means had been charged with a violent crime and found innocent. He charges that the arrests have been for the sole purpose of tying him up in legal struggles so that he cannot participate in the movement for the liberation of native peoples.

On March 2, Means, Rick Marshall and several companions were returning from Pine Ridge to Rapid City. As they passed through the town of Scenic, they stopped at the Longhorn Bar, purchased a six-pack of beer, and left without incident.

Shortly afterwards, Martin Montileaux was found in the men's restroom. He had been shot, but was still alive. Police arrived quickly and soon discovered that Russell Means had earlier been on the scene. Although police repeatedly asked the wounded Montileaux, "Did Means shoot you?" Montileaux clearly answered, "No, it wasn't Russ Means."

But nonetheless, police did arrest Means and Marshall, who was not identified by Montileaux either. Means was held in the Rapid City jail for six weeks until Marlon Brando, the actor who has supported the native resistance for several years now, posted bond.

Although Means was free, his legal struggles were not ended. On June 7, he was shot in the back and seriously wounded by a BIA police officer who had stopped to investigate a small group of AIM people at a roadside. On June 23, while recovering from his wound in a private home, Means was arrested again and charged with assaulting Terry Pudwell with a pool cue in McLaughlin, South Dakota, on June 6, the day before Means was shot.

Interestingly enough, Pudwell's complaint of a June 6 incident was not made until June 20. Pudwell is former police chief of McLaughlin, fired in late 1974. He's the guy who accidentally shot himself in the shoulder in June of that year, and claimed to have been attacked by AIM Indians from the Treaty Conference being held at the time at nearby Standing Rock. After his fraud was exposed by a doctor, he admitted that he had shot himself.

"Since Wounded Knee, I have been arrested twelve times – an average of once every two months," Means said in a press conference then. "It's ironic that I have moved to North Dakota to get away from confrontations and danger and right away, I'm arrested twice and shot in the back."

The legal campaign against Means has been impressive. He currently is free on $2,000 bond while he appeals his conviction for riot in April, 1974, at the Minnehaha County Courthouse in Sioux Falls during a trial of the Custer Courthouse defendants.

He still faces two counts of assault with a dangerous weapon and assault with intent to do bodily harm in June, 1975, incident in McLaughlin, South Dakota.

Cases that are concluded include a 30-day sentence for assault in a June, 1974, fight at the Mission Country Club on the Rosebud Reservation when police came in to hassle Means while he was eating dinner. He was acquitted on the charges of interfering with a BIA police officer when Means was shot June 7.

Charges of assaulting a policeman and carrying a concealed weapon were dismissed in Scottsbluff, Nebraska, case involving a January, 1973, incident when Means and other AIM members meeting with Chicano leaders were surrounded by police.

Charges of assault, larceny, and conspiracy against Means in the Wounded Knee takeover were dismissed by federal judge Fred Nichol in a St. Paul trial.

In an effort to get the charade of the long string of trials over, Means decided to plea bargain the charges against him for the Custer Courthouse confrontation in January, 1973. Felony charges against him were dropped when he pleaded guilty to a misdemeanor assault charge, and he was sentenced to 30 days in the Custer County Jail and ordered to pay a $100 fine and court costs.



The short trial consisted of a series of muddled and conflicting testimony by five government witnesses and two defense witnesses. One witness testified that Montileaux went into the bathroom before Means arrived at the bar. Another witness testified that Means and another man were in the bathroom when Montileaux entered. One woman testified that Means never went into the bathroom at all.

Hallie Merrill, the owner of the bar and also a rancher who has been against AIM, testified that Means had entered the rest room before the shooting. However, Merrill had been unable to identify Means when he was asked to look over a group of native people, although he promptly pointed to him on another occasion when Means was the sole native person sitting at the defense table.

Marian Poor Bear, Montileaux' sister-in-law, and an admitted FBI paid informant, said she had seen two men follow Montileaux into the bar's rest room. She said Means' companion, Dick Marshall was one of the two, but Means was not the second person.

Pennington County sheriff's deputy had talked with Montileaux before his death, and his testimony was admitted into evidence. The first statement on the transcript was that "a friend of Russell Means shot me." Further statements indicated what Phillips was really looking for. He asked the dying man, "You wouldn't want the people responsible to get away would you? Especially if it was some of the AIM leadership, would you?" In response to that question, Montileaux said, "It was not Russell Means who shot me."

Defense attorney John Ackerman accused police officials of failing to conduct an investigation that would lead them to Montileaux's assailant, but instead looked solely for evidence that might build a case against Means.

The verdict came after 20 hours of jury deliberation following a three-day trial.

Rick Marshall, the AIM member who was with Means the night Montileaux was shot, was the only other person in the eight-person party who was charged. He was convicted of murder in April, and was sentenced to life imprisonment. However, many of the witnesses whose evidence convicted him gave different testimony in the Means trial, which should open up grounds for a motion to obtain a new trial.

The evidence against Marshall was confusing enough as it was. The main witness testified that she had been paid by the FBI for her testimony, which she herself contradicted. Defense witnesses refuted all her statements. During the trial, Marshall had been offered a deal to plead guilty to a lesser charge with the chance of having to serve no time since he had no prior convictions.

However, knowing his innocence and never believing that even a Rapid City jury could believe the evidence against him, Marshall refused the offer. Shortly after, he was tried, convicted, and sentenced to life imprisonment.

Marshall and his wife, Cleo Clifford Marshall, were active in the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization active before and during the occupation at Wounded Knee.. After he refused to join the goon roadblocks, Marshall signed a petition calling for the impeachment of Dick Wilson, then tribal chairman. Constant harrassment followed – their home in Pine Ridge was shot at, police broke into their home while they were away, leaving it in shambles, Marshall was arrested, handcuffed, and beaten. Finally, the family retreated to Allen, a community on the eastern part of the reservation.

Contributions for Means' legal battles can be sent to:

Russell Means Defense Fund
POBox 30116
St. Paul, Minnesota 55168

[Thanks to Charles Raisch of Peoplesmedia, Marion Wing, Norman Moore, Workers' Power, United Press International, Bruce Von Zellen, Steven Carter of The Oregonian, and Stacey Seigle of The Militant, for information used here. Thanks also to "Spirit Of The People", the national newsletter of the Native American Solidarity Committee, POBox 3426, St. Paul, Minnesota 55165.]

BANKS

Portland, Oregon

Dennis Banks' campaign to remain on the West Coast instead of being extradited to South Dakota for imprisonment has gained steam, but many uncertainties still face the American Indian Movement leader.

Banks left South Dakota as a "fugitive for justice" after a railroaded trial in Custer, South Dakota ended in his conviction. Although he remained at liberty for some months, the massive federal manhunt which was launched zeroed in on him in California, where he was arrested. Later, he came to Oregon to face charges that he had been in Oregon in November as a fugitive.

On July 2, county circuit court judge Pat Dooler dismissed fugitive charges against Banks, expressing anger that neither Oregon Governor Robert Straub nor California Governor Edmund Brown, Jr., had made a decision on whether Banks would be extradited to South Dakota.

Banks, however, was not at the July 2 hearing – he was in jail in San Francisco after persons who had posted bond for him in that state asked to have their money returned. His attorney said an Indian couple who had deposited their savings bankbook as security on a bail bondsman's $5,000 note, had expected Banks' case to move along more rapidly, and was forced to withdraw the bankbook because of a personal emergency.

Governor Straub said he couldn't make a decision on the extradition if Banks wasn't even in the state, and because the governor refused to act, the judge decided to cancel the fugitive complaint. The judge wasn't happy about the whole situation, and accused Banks of going into jail on purpose just to avoid the court, and he seized his $1,000 bail bond.

Dooley also ordered a warrant be prepared for his failure to appear in his court. Banks had also been in jail on June 15 when a previous hearing had been scheduled and cancelled under similar circumstances. District Attorney Carl Haas said he was inclined to charge Banks with a felony for failure to appear in court, and to extradite him from California.

In San Francisco, authorities announced in July there would be a September 16 hearing on Banks' extradition from California.

Support for Banks has been widespread. The Unitarian-Universalist Assembly passed a resolution urging the governors of the two states to refuse to extradite Banks. However, an editorial in the *Oregon Journal* urged that Banks shouldn't "be allowed to play ping-pong with the Oregon and California court systems with one hand, while openly thumbing his nose at the Oregon judicial system with the other."

Anti-AIM sentiment was also whipped up by Howard Phillips, a former director of OEO, and an ardent young Republican. He repeated the worn accusation that AIM was really a government plot: "Government agencies had financed Dennis Banks and Russell Means to initiate the incident at Wounded Knee," Phillips charged in a public address at the Hilton Hotel in Portland.

In Wichita, Kansas, a federal jury found Kamook, Dennis' wife, guilty of transporting explosives across state lines. She was sentenced to three years probation.

She had been riding in a car with other AIM activists in September, 1975, going down the Kansas Turnpike when smoke started pouring from the car hood. They stopped to investigate. An explosion then rocked the car, injuring several passengers.

All passengers were arrested and charged with transporting explosives. AIM officials charge that the explosives had been planted to flush out Dennis Banks, then a fugitive, out of hiding by an attempt on his wife's life.

Even though the 21-year-old woman was then six months pregnant, the court set a $20,000 cash bail. At one point in the hearing, the federal judge said, "It wouldn't be so bad if you weren't married to that Dennis Banks."



In a plan similar to the Dog Soldier plot of federal agencies uncovered in the Butler-Robideau trial, various government agencies passed out rumors that the seven persons arrested were part of a plot involving 40,000 persons to assassinate U.S. President Gerald Ford and vice president Nelson Rockefeller in Oklahoma. Charles Harvey, special Alcohol, Tobacco, & Firearms agent, speculated that "the Indians might be planning something similar to the armed occupation of Wounded Knee." FBI special agent Bill Williams hinted that one of the rifles found in the car "could have" been taken from the dead FBI agents in the June 26 Oglala incident. "FBI DEATHS LINKED TO RIFLE IN INDIANS' CAR," the Wichita *Eagle & Beacon* headlined.

Kamook's child was born in prison by Caesarean section – the child is named "Iron Door Woman". The U.S. presented her with a bill for $2700 for medical expenses in connection with the birth.

CROW DOG

Terre Haute, Indiana – Leonard Crow Dog remains confined in the federal penitentiary here after the U.S. Supreme Court refused to allow him to remain free pending a hearing on his appeal. He had brief freedom earlier this summer, but he was ordered to surrender himself into custody.

The National Council of Churches Division of Church and Society has taken up the cause of Crow Dog, an active spiritual leader for the Lakota and other peoples.

Dean M. Kelley, executive for Religious and Civil Liberty in the National Council of Churches, has urged moral and financial support for the legal defense of Crow Dog.

The first time Crow Dog was brought to court was on charges stemming from the historic occupation of Wounded Knee. The charge was "interfering with federal officers." Four postal inspectors entered the besieged hamlet during the confrontation, and were arrested by occupation security forces, who took them to a building where Crow Dog was. Crow Dog lectured them on Indian rights, and had them safely escorted out of the occupied zone. All four testified that Crow Dog had not harmed them, but had, in fact, protected them. The jury did not take much time in reaching a guilty verdict, however, and Crow Dog was sentenced to 11 years in federal prison.

Crow Dog had two other co-defendants for that trial. Stan Holder failed to show up for sentencing and is still a fugitive from U.S. authorities, and Carter Camp recently had his sentence reversed by the 8th Circuit Court of Appeals.

At first Crow Dog was placed on probation by the court. The U.S. wasn't happy with that, and so another "crime" was staged, causing Crow Dog to have his probation revoked, and another sentence added. In that situation, Crow Dog and his family were awakened one night by two trespassers – one a suspect in the brutal slaying of Crow Dog's nephew, and both suspect in the savage beating of another nephew earlier that night. Both men, drunk and belligerent, drove through two log barriers to reach the Crow Dog house. Luckily, friends and relatives camping on the land protected Crow Dog and ejected the trespassers. Crow Dog was charged with assault, although he had only watched the action, and he was convicted by an all-white jury in a matter of minutes. He was sentenced to two concurrent five-year terms.

In January, Crow Dog was once again dragged into court on another "assault charge". This trial was even more ludicrous, as Crow Dog was charged with attacking a provocateur who was in Crow Dog's home as an unwelcome guest, and who refused to leave. The instrument of attack was said to be a toy tomahawk. Again, a five year sentence from a white judge and a white jury.

The National Council of Churches Governing Board passed a resolution saying it was "particularly appalled at the severity with which Leonard Crow Dog has been pursued, prosecuted, imprisoned and victimized for what were, at most, minor offenses, suggesting that his real offense has been to lend spiritual force and dignity to the struggle for Indian rights. This religious leader has been persecuted and harrassed by the U.S. Government beyond any deserving – in fact, he should be honored and respected, rather than imprisoned."

'THE DANGER WHICH CROW DOG REPRESENTS IS HIS MORAL AND SPIRITUAL MESSAGE – HIS CRY TO DEFEND THE LAND'

by Richard Erdoes

It was sad to read the headline on page 14 in the last issue of AKWESASNE NOTES:

"CROW DOG RELEASED FROM PRISON"

because at the time the paper was being printed, Crow Dog had been locked up again behind the walls of a maximum security prison. He had been released on bond after he lodged an appeal against his sentence. Usually, it takes months before an appeal is answered – in this case it took but a few days after the appeal was in the hands of the U.S. Supreme Court before Crow Dog got a notice that it was denied.

Together with the notice was an order to surrender himself within 24 hours. He chose to surrender himself at Deadwood, South Dakota. There was great meaning in this gesture – Deadwood had been the place in which the first Crow Dog, Leonard's great-grandfather, had surrendered himself, driving 150 miles in his horse and buggy, with only his wife beside him, to a trial which could have cost him his life. Courage has never been lacking in the Crow Dog Family.

Crow Dog also chose to surrender himself in Deadwood because it lies in the heart of the Black Hills, sacred to the native nations, the home of Thunderbirds. Once this land had been guaranteed them by treaty – "as long as the sun shall shine", which turned out to be exactly until the moment one George Armstrong Custer reported having found gold there "in the grass roots". Deadwood owes its existence to this gold – it sprang up almost overnight. The tiny settlement had 70 saloons, as many gambling dens and places of prostitution, but no school or church. Thus civilization arrived in the Black Hills.

The Homestake Mine which rises behind Deadwood is still in full operation, but not for the benefit of its rightful owners. More than a billion dollars in gold and other metals have been taken out of the Black Hills since Custer's time. It was a good place for Crow Dog to surrender.

Crow Dog is now in Terre Haute, Indiana, in a maximum security prison. It is worse in one respect from Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, where he was imprisoned before – there, his many friends in the East could still visit him. But at Terre Haute, he is exactly halfway from either New York or his home in Rosebud. For his old mother to visit him, she had to fly from Sioux Falls to Denver, then to Chicago, stay overnight, and continue to Terre Haute. The cost for his mother and his wife for the trip: $600.

But travelling to Terre Haute does not necessarily insure seeing Crow Dog. Two representatives of Amnesty International traveled from Europe to visit Crow Dog but they were refused admittance throughout their two-day wait. Dr. Lucius Walker, General Secretary of the National Council of Churches, got inside the prison where he was allowed to speak to the prison chaplain, but he was not permitted to see Crow Dog. Other old friends of Crow Dog have also been turned away.

At Sun Dance time, Crow Dog's lawyers and supporters asked that he be given a furlough so that he could conduct this most sacred of ceremonies. There was obviously no danger of his running away – he had, after all, surrendered himself voluntarily on 24 hours notice. The appeal to let Crow Dog out for the ceremony was supported by a U.S. Senator, the head of the National Council of Churches and World Council of Churches, the head of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, the National Indian Youth Council, Native American Rights Fund, and many other organizations, but the answer was a flat "no".

To underscore the assertion that Crow Dog is a "dangerous person", they had him escorted from one prison to another by no less than 40 armed men.

Why is the U.S. Government spending all this time, money, energy and slander just to keep one non-violent Sioux Medicine Man behind bars?

The answer, of course, is that Crow Dog is indeed dangerous.

There is gold in the Black Hills – and oil and coal and natural gas and uranium and water and desirable real estate all neatly spread out on or beneath the surface of native nation lands. The danger which Crow Dog represents is his moral and spiritual message which he brings to his people, his cry to defend the land.

If people listen to Crow Dog's message and act with the strength of his medicine, the exploiters will be unable to exploit.

On September 30, 1976, Crow Dog's case will again be heard under rule 35 before Judge Robert Merhige in Richmond, Virginia. Perhaps by now the court will be more aware of what is going on and what is being done to native people than it was a year ago, now that government prosecutors have been exposed in similar cases as proponents of hollow, paranoic and untrue cases.

If eyes and ears and hearts have been opened to the truth, then Crow Dog, at last, may receive some measure of justice.

But that's only a hope, not a certainty.

The struggle goes on.



– AKWESASNE NOTES photo by Richard Erdoes

Crow Dog as a free man with Grandfather Fire

MEDICINE MAN

You used to walk on Grandmother Earth
Roaming in search of herbs.
Now
You are pacing your cell,
Twelve feet of concrete.
Can you feel the buffalo grass beneath it?

When they Sun-danced,
As they pierced
Thinking of you,
Could you feel their pain?
Pain because you were not there.
In the clicking of metal bars
Did you hear the eagle-bone whistle?

In the stink of prison,
Among the odor of a thousand men caged like rats
And the odor of stale food,
Do you smell the sage,
The sweetgrass?

Among the shouts of the guards,
The drone of TV sets,
The screech of loudspeakers,
Do you hear the drum?
The sound of the gourd?
And the eagle's cry?

As you eat your prison food
Mixed with strange chemicals to dull your senses,
As you are forced to swallow your daily Thorazine
Which, they hope, will gentle you,
Can you taste the Sacred Medicine?

Lying on your cot,
Feeling prison walls smothering you,
Feeling handcuffs crushing your wrists,
Can you feel the wind on your face?

MEDICINE MAN,
BROTHER,
Grandmother Earth
The Grass
The Wind
And the Drum
Are waiting,
Waiting for your return.

THEY WILL STILL BE THERE
Long after
The walls of your prison
Have crumbled to dust.

I am waiting too.
Your Brother Richard. –Richard Erdoes

Blue Dove of the F.B.I.







Introducinggg Blue Dove! Ladies and gentlemen, this well-preserved 56-year-old "cowgirl" can also be an "Indian Maiden" or, as she is in real life, an FBI agent.

Virginia Miller or Extrum or Riccardo or Deluce or just plain "Blue Dove" – those are the names she has been known by. For years, this 56-year-old blue-eyed blonde has been wearing a black wig and posing as an Indian in the Los Angeles area. For at least three recent years, and possibly much longer, she has been an undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Most probably, she is continuing this work now with a new identity supplied for her by the U.S. Government.

Her exposure is a direct consequence of her service to the U.S. Government as a material witness against Paul Skyhorse, a Minnesota Chippewa, and Richard Billings Mohawk, an Iroquois, at the "AIM Camp 13" murder trial in Ventura, California.

According to Blue Dove's testimony at an all-day pretrial hearing August 27, she became an FBI agent in early 1973, and went off the FBI payroll in January, 1976. She at first repeatedly denied being an FBI informant, although Skyhorse had been given a letter from district attorney Michael Bradbury dated January 30, 1976, which read, in its entirety:

"This is to inform you that the woman referred to in various documents pertaining to this case as 'Blue Dove' aka 'Virginia Deluce' is, and was at the time of the incidents referred to, an informant for the Federal Bureau of Investigation."

But asked on the witness stand by Skyhorse, "Were you an informant for the FBI in 1974?" Blue Dove said no. Skyhorse, acting as his own attorney, tried many times to rephrase the question over a barrage of objections from prosecutor Peter Kassoris, sustained by Judge Marvin Lewis. Finally, the right combination of words were found which left Blue Dove with the alternative of a perjury charge or admitting the truth – she had worked for the FBI, she said, but not as an informer. As an agent.

Skyhorse and Mohawk were skeptical. "Did you give yourself that title:" Mohawk asked in cross-examination. "No," she replied. She said that informants were "people that inform on their own" whereas agents like herself work out of higher motivations.

Blue Dove's motivations were money – she was paid regularly and in cash, but said she couldn't remember just how much – and her conservative political beliefs. And of course, there are those odd desires which cause persons to lead double lives and betray people whose trust has been cultivated.

Her FBI "handlers", she testified, were FBI agents Gilbert Cordova and Marty Gonzales, both of whom apparently had responsibility for collecting information on native people and Chicanos in the Los Angeles area, as well as supervising the disruption of their "subjects". She made written and oral reports, particularly to Cordova, and to other agents – the court would not allow her to name them.

Nor would he permit her to answer defense questions about her informant number, code name, length of reports, or content of reports beyond very narrow questions, to most of which she replied, "I don't remember."

Blue Dove was born in San Francisco on March 25, 1921. She claims to be a Mohawk from the Six Nations Reserve in Canada, whose grandparents were Viola May Furness Wells and John F. Wells. Those names are not familiar to Six Nations people.

She said she regarded herself as working for Indian people by spying on them for the FBI, quoting a garbled version of the Peacemaker's words in giving the Great Law of Peace to back this up: "When the arrows of the common enemy threaten the stability and good work that these nations have done, then it is the duty of the nations to bind together and return the arrows until such time as goodness returns."

By this, she said she meant Indians should work with intelligence agencies of the U.S. Government to defeat the "Communist menace", including protecting "my people and the American people from any acts of violence . . . to be able to have the best that was possible for the Indian people so nothing would be destroyed with all the work that we had done since I know of, 1963."

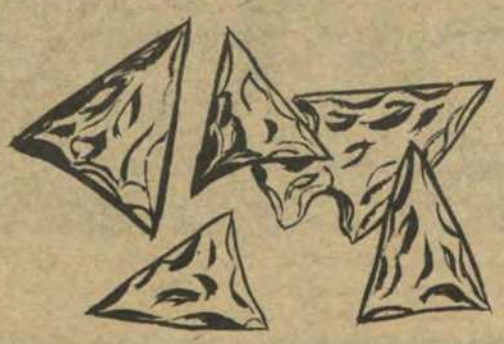
Blue Dove is a personal friend of the Barry Goldwater family. She has many contacts among the wealthy power elite of the U.S., including the late Howard Hughes, whose Watergate activities and CIA connections have been in the news. Acquaintances of Blue Dove said she seemed to have inside knowledge of the assassination of U.S. President John F. Kennedy in Dallas in 1963.

Blue Dove apparently started her "professional" career as an actress, playing with traveling companies in minor theaters. With Mafia backing to supplement her "talent", she finally got a Broadway part in the early 1950s.

Her type of talent, as indicated in a review of one of her roles, was useful to her in her spying on Indians: "Miss Virginia De Luce is sex personified. Her bath towel scene made us gasp each time she moved, and her 'wiggle' was second to none."

She was briefly married to a Ricky Riccardo – not the one from I Love Lucy, but the "younger son" of a Chicago Mafia family. Apparently when this broke up, she could no longer get any parts, so she came out to Hollywood, and with the aid of a black wig, turned herself into an Indian.

Some native people active in the Indian Actors' Studio, a group of native performers, felt that Blue Dove must have been some kind of agent or disrupter as early as 1964 or '65 when she caused the group much grief. The purpose of the group was to get better parts for native actors, to combat racist stereotypes and inaccurate portrayals in films.



Deluce says she received the name "Blue Dove" from Rolling Thunder in 1969. Before that, she called herself "Sica".

The "sex appeal" mentioned by play reviewers years back was a big help to Blue Dove in playing her new part of "Indian spy" and disrupter. After all, the use of male weaknesses by female spies is an ancient tactic – but one that still works. With the help of surgery and heavy cosmetics, Blue Dove has made a valiant effort to preserve the look of youth – as long as you don't notice her neck and hands. Native women reported that her approach was simple and crude – but effective, especially with young native men.

Blue Dove was brought to many closed events and non-public meetings with her latest "man of the moment", and in 1973, she was made treasurer of the Los Angeles chapter of the American Indian Movement. From that position she could supply the financial information the feds seemed to crave in their fruitless efforts to prove the "foreign connection", and as well, she was in a position to disrupt by misappropriating funds raised for Wounded Knee and trials.

Another way that Blue Dove got information and gained trust was through her interest – real or assumed – in the occult and astrology. She could get people to talk about "strange experiences" they had had, particularly in connection with their activities in the native movements. Apparently, she made special efforts to get next to native spiritual leaders – the U.S. Government has always recognized the importance of destroying the spiritual basis of native culture and its resistance to domination.

Her assumed interest in astrology gave her an easy way to get details of people's date and place of birth – useful information for identifying persons whose identity the feds are having trouble pinning down. She was always asking people for this information "so I can make a chart for you" – but no one remembers getting their chart. Perhaps the FBI files have them all.

How important an agent or operative or informant is Blue Dove? This is hard to answer, because the U.S. Government has refused to release any information about her, or reports made by her. And despite the fact that two men face the gas chamber, possibly as a result of her activities in a massive federal counterintelligence frameup, the court has refused to order this done. But there are many indications that Blue Dove is one of the FBI's more useful little helpers, particularly dangerous so far as native people are concerned.

The original prosecutor in the "AIM Camp 13" case was John Debroth, then district attorney for Ventura County. In 1975, as the case was about to go to trial, Debroth told an FBI agent, possibly Mendoza, that he was going to call Deluce as a witness. "Don't do that," the agent said. "She's one of our most important informants. We don't want to risk having her burned [exposed]."

Debroth said he needed Blue Dove since her testimony would be the only evidence (other than tainted testimony by admitted participants in the murder) which would say Skyhorse and Mohawk returned to the camp the night of the murder after Blue Dove had conveniently taken them to a non-existent "Free Sarah Bad Heart Bull" demonstration in downtown Los Angeles where the two defendants were secretly photographed by the FBI, and publicly shown as AIM members.

Debroth was then contacted by the U.S. Attorney for the federal district of California, who urged him to leave Blue Dove alone. Debroth refused. He was then

contacted by representatives from the U.S. Justice Department, the parent agency of the FBI, and advised not to call Blue Dove as a witness. Debroth told them, "Unless someone with the power to fire me orders me not to call her, I'm going to use her." But Debroth was not fired – he was kicked upstairs to a "better job" and taken off the case.

Assistant district attorney Michael Bradbury then took over, and for unknown reasons – perhaps out of simple justice, perhaps out of fear of a political hot potato if the facts came out – Bradbury wrote Skyhorse the letter exposing Blue Dove last January 30, and then backed off the case, leaving it to assistant district attorney Peter Kassoris.

Right after the murder, October 10, 1974, there was extensive police consultation with Blue Dove at her Canoga Park residence not far from the "AIM Camp". However, there has been a cover-up of this, some of which has been exposed in the three-month suppression hearings which have preceded the trial. Ventura County sheriff's officers have testified falsely as to who was at the meetings with Blue Dove, when the meetings occurred, what was said, and where the meetings were held. Capt. Ditzhazy testified that for some reason, he destroyed his notes of an interview with her about this important case. Sht. Braden McKinley, the chief investigating officer, testified that he didn't talk to her at all – but Blue Dove let it slip in her testimony that not only did she talk extensively with McKinley about the killing, about Skyhorse and Mohawk and other matters connected with the camp, but McKinley also gave her his card so she could get in touch with him quickly if she had more information to divulge. Present at one of the meetings were officers from Los Angeles Police Department's political intelligence unit, Ventura County Sheriff's Office, Los Angeles Sheriff's Office, and the FBI.

Blue Dove said, though, that amazingly enough she hadn't had any contacts with the FBI concerning the "AIM Camp" or the murder. McKinley said the same. Yet the defense was furnished, under court-ordered discovery, a note written in the handwriting of the chief political intelligence officer for the Ventura County Sheriff's Office – Sgt. Rudd – and signed as received by McKinley containing information from Marty Gonzales, one of Blue Dove's FBI "handlers" stating that Paul Skyhorse made certain calls from the "AIM Camp" phone, which the FBI obviously was tapping.

Blue Dove said she didn't know Sgt. Rudd – but native people remember seeing him at her house where she introduced him as a man "from the Elks' Club who was arranging a singing engagement" for her.

When Blue Dove finally appeared in court, something she fought all the way, as did prosecutor Kassoris, she had more security guards and precautions taken than the President of the U.S. usually has. Though witnesses don't usually have their own lawyers, Blue Dove did, and the court allowed him to sit right next to the witness stand.

Two private investigators, hired by the Skyhorse-Mohawk defense team to try to get pictures of Blue Dove and find out where she's now living, were heavily surveilled by deputies and feds for several days before her appearance. One of them said afterwards, "Before this, I didn't believe the Federal Government had any involvement in this case – now I have no doubt of it."

Blue Dove apparently received some kind of military training, which indicates she may have been working for other agencies, such as the CIA, as her Mafia connections suggest, or such as Army Intelligence. Military marksmanship awards hung on the walls of her now-abandoned Canoga Park home, but under oath, she denied having such awards. But she did admit she was a good shot: "I can shoot any kind of gun they give me," she said, but she declined to identify who "they" were.

Apparently Blue Dove also has filed written or oral reports with the FBI falsely accusing many native people of supplying guns and ammunition for "violent conspiracies". One person about whom she has made these false accusations is Craig Carpenter, active in the Traditional Indian Land and Life Movement. Her long-standing connection with Carpenter placed her in a position to gain information and disrupt activities among the Navajo and Hopi people, and among native peoples involved in the Pit River, Alcatraz, Pyramid Lake, and other protests of recent years.

Blue Dove is no stranger to violence herself. One native man, Hank O'Brien, was admitted to a Canoga Park hospital near her home after his "accidental shooting" there. Another man, Bill Little Owl, was beaten up by hoods after he quit going with Blue Dove in an attack apparently arranged by her.

A Blue Dove technique for disrupting a group was to provoke one of her "boyfriends" to physically attack leaders or key people within a native group, or to provoke trouble between couples. All of this activity is in the classical pattern for the work of a female spy-saboteur.

Blue Dove also used her "credentials" as an "Indian activist" to gain positions on advisory boards of educational and charitable groups which try to help native causes. That put her in a position to spy on such groups as the American Friends Service Committee, and as well, to influence their policies and activities in directions the U.S. Government would want them to follow, or to promote their failure in other directions. She was able to infiltrate Chicano and prison support groups which the U.S. Government has also been spying on and disrupting.

Several native people reported to defense investigators that Blue Dove tried to get them involved with the "AIM Camp", to visit it, to attend meetings there, to provide various types of supplies for it. Julie Christensen, who has a native radio news-program that is well known in the Los Angeles area, said that Blue Dove made a major effort at the 1974 "Free Sarah" demonstration to have Julie take Skyhorse and Mohawk back to the "AIM Camp", possibly to set her up for some kind of involvement in the murder. Blue Dove made no effort to ask anyone else to supply transportation when Christensen refused.

All of this is of great interest not only to Skyhorse and Mohawk for their trial, but is a matter of importance to native people everywhere, especially those in California. Skyhorse and Mohawk have called on people to support three demands they are making, three demands to have the truth known:

– full disclosure of the activities and reports of Blue Dove and operative Douglass Durham, and any and all other "informants", operatives, agents, etc., who were involved in any way with the camp, with people residing there, or with the murder.

– disclosure of all electronic surveillance records concerning the camp.

– disclosure of all reports and information, from whatever sources, relating to the camp and the murder.

A.I.M. MEMBERS UP AGAINST NEW WAVE OF ATTACKS.....

Crackdowns against AIM activists were taking place all over the U.S. Milton Smalle had participated in a Columbus Day demonstration in 1975 at Fort Vancouver. At the time, police questioned him about throwing a "Molotov cocktain" which didn't explode. No charges were laid. However, when Smalle became security chief for the AIM defendants in the Oregon trials, he was arrested for the October incident, tried and convicted by a Seattle court.

Herb Powless, who directed AIM activities in Milwaukee is now in prison. He was convicted on a set-up charge during a six-state round-up of AIM members over a year ago. He is just one of a number of able and active, but lesser known American Indian Movement members and other activists who are in prison now because of their work for the native cause.

Powless has been executive director of the Indian Council on Alcoholism in Milwaukee. After a hung jury resulted in a mistrial on several federal charges, Powless was retried for interstate transportation of a firearm by a convicted felon, and unlawful possession of an unregistered firearm. Powless had been followed, hounded, and spied upon for some time by informers in an effort to set Powless up for a conviction.

Or there is Sidney Welsh, a Mohave from Colorado River Reservation, who on May 7, in California's Indio Superior Court, was found guilty of recklessly and maliciously possessing an explosive device. The charge carries a mandatory 5-year minimum sentence, to a maximum of life. Welsh was a leader of San Francisco AIM, and worked relentless to get California to pass a law making it a criminal offense to disturb native burial sites.

Welsh was arrested last January 2 on vague charges which were never prosecuted. But police claimed that when they were searching Welsh's car – when neither he nor lawyers were present – they said they found several scraps of metal which could have belonged to a blasting cap. Local police held them a week on misdemeanor charges, and released them on a low bond. At their next hearing, the FBI pressured the court to increase the bond from $1,000 to $25,000.

Welsh had been enroute to San Francisco and had stopped overnight at the Potter Hotel in Indio when he was arrested. Two men, Vernon Elias and Harry Moses were with him, but they slept in the car. Welsh went to the car to get some medication to find the police questioning Elias and Moses. However, charges against Moses and Elias were eventually dropped by police – only Welsh was a member of the American Indian Movement.

* * * * *

Initially, the police arrested the three on charges of possessing loaded, concealed firearms. However, as it turned out, the guns were unloaded, registered, and unconcealed rifles.

The beginnings of a new campaign to round up scores of native activists can be seen in a U.S. grand jury which has been meeting monthly in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Members of the American Indian Movement, Warrior Societies, and other activist organizations from Colorado, South Dakota, Wisconsin, Montana and other states have been summonsed to appear to answer questions about crimes not yet revealed. The grand jury is being conducted by the Alcohol, Firearms and Tobacco [AFT] unit of the U.S. Treasury's Secret Service.

Observers believe the next wave of harrassment will try to play to the worst fantasies of racists by attempting to link both English-speaking and Spanish-speaking native peoples – Indians and Chicanos – together in an absurd terrorist plot involving explosives and assassination conspiracies.

Most persons who came to the grand jury refused to testify. One person, Leroy Casados, said that as he was boarding a plane in Denver headed for the grand jury, he was stopped by two men who showed him a bag full of money, said that there would be no need for him to go to Oklahoma City if he would cooperate with them by acting as a witness to prove the alleged charges when the trials came around. $200,000 was the sum mentioned as his pay-off.

The stage for this new round-up was being set in late September when Senator James Eastland of Mississippi had a huge press conference in which he revealed the "whole truth" about the American Indian Movement, alleging that it was moving into terrorist activities.

When defense attorneys asked to have the metal from the blasting caps the FBI said it had found introduced in evidence, the prosecution reported the caps had been "accidentally destroyed or lost". The alleged "explosives" – metal from a blasting cap – were never seen by Welsh, the defense lawyer, the judge or the jury. FBI investigators testified about an unexploded bomb which they said they had found at a Bureau of Indian Affairs office in Parker, Arizona, and implied that Welsh had been the bomber. However, he was never charged in connection with that alleged offense.

The jury, however was not confused – it found Welsh guilty. The district attorney allowed how the FBI thought this was an important case, and they wanted him to win it.

Before Welsh was sentenced, however, his motion for a new trial was granted and scheduled for this autumn.

And then there are those still in jail from the last round. Alonso Victor King has been sitting in jail since 1973 on charges stemming from the Custer Courthouse incident. He is at the Leavenworth County Jail, 503 South Third St., Leavenworth, Kansas 66048, if people wish to write to him to let him know he hasn't been forgotten.

Gordon, Nebraska

Bob Yellowbird Nebraska coordinator for the American Indian Movement, charged with two counts of shooting with intent to kill and disorderly conduct, turned himself in to Nebraska authorities on July 26. Nebraska AIM and the Nebraska Indian Commission have initiated an investigation into the Gordon Police Department for its selective law enforcement pattern. Investigators have interviewed persons complaining of being maced, of verbal abuse, pistolwhipping of prisoners, and threatening with firearms.

Yellowbird faces a difficulty in getting a fair jury for his trial: 100% of registered voters questioned in an attitude survey said they had heard of AIM and 81% said their opinion was unfavorable. 71% had heard of Yellowbird, and 57% of those persons had an unfavorable opinion.

A legal defense fund has been formed to raise funds for Yellowbird's defense. Contact:

Mrs. Cleo Herrera
YellowBird Legal Defense Fund
POBox 184
Gordon, Nebraska

"A.I.M. Camp 13" Murder Trials

— Ventura, California

Every court day in Ventura, prisoners under guard walk the short distance from jail to the county courthouse chained together in groups, like coffles of slaves on their way to auction.

For Paul Durant Skyhorse, a Minnesota Chippewa, and Richard Billings Mohawk, a Tuscarora/Mohawk from the Niagara Falls area, there is especially heavy security. Spectators are searched before entering the courtroom, and armed deputies sit at the sides of the room and sometimes in chairs behind especially dangerous looking spectators (translate that to "Indians").

Ventura, just north of Los Angeles, is not a friendly town to be if you are Indian, Chicano, or without too much money.

For almost two years, Skyhorse and Mohawk have been held in maximum security solitary confinement, with only their own efforts warding off a hasty "railroad" trial for the murder of cab driver George Aird October 10, 1974, at the "American Indian Movement Camp 13" located in Box Canyon near here.

At first, the two defendants had no help or support from anyone. Under the urgings of FBI/CIA provocateur Douglass Durham, who had become AIM's "national security director", AIM abandoned them. The first lawyer assigned to Skyhorse, a public defender named Kenneth Cleaver, forced Skyhorse through a damaging "sanity trial" at the very same time he was representing Marvin Red Shirt to arrange an immunity bargain in which Red Shirt was to be let off in exchange for false testimony that Skyhorse and Mohawk killed the cab driver.

All the while, Skyhorse and Mohawk have been the victims of a concerted effort to make them a "death penalty test case" — an effort which makes no sense at all unless it is understood as part of a U.S. Government conspiracy directed against the American Indian Movement, and possibly also intended to protect several FBI "informants" who are deeply implicated in the murder themselves.

At long last, however, Skyhorse and Mohawk are now beginning to receive support. Archie Fire, a spiritual leader who is the son of Lame Deer, and Ernie Peters, a Lakota who is area coordinator for the Southern California region of AIM, have each conducted pipe ceremonies for Skyhorse and Mohawk in the jail. A few native people regularly make the 70-mile trip north from Los Angeles to observe the trial, and the American Civil Liberties Union has entered the case as "amicus" on their behalf. Amnesty International has agreed to send an observer, a German attorney, to their trial.

Nevertheless, public knowledge of the case is still slight. The local press is unremittingly hostile, and the national and Los Angeles press has been entirely uninterested. Financial support for defense efforts has been almost nil.

Yet it may turn out that this trial documents some of the most devastating revelations yet revealed about the extent to which U.S. police/intelligence agencies will go in order to break up legitimate political movements and to "inactivate" political activists. It may turn out that the case involves the random terroristic murder of a wholly non-political person with many stage props to discredit native people generally and AIM specifically. It may turn out that the trial will document the frame-up of two innocent men whose only crime was activity in the cause of native rights dating back ten years for Skyhorse and five years for Mohawk.

The cover-up of what actually happened at the "AIM Camp" the night of October 10, 1974, includes police, prosecution, and whatever federal agencies were involved, as well as failure to prosecute the persons who actually committed the murder, whose identities and actions have been known to law-enforcement personnel since the crime was "discovered" in the early morning hours of October 11.

The following account of what happened at the "AIM Camp" around the time of the brutal slaying is based on evidence which became available to the defense only recently. Some of it was furnished this spring in a court-ordered discovery hearing. Some of it has come out during the three months of evidentiary suppression hearings — a world's record for hearings of this kind which the local press has repeatedly called a "waste of taxpayer's money".

The pre-trial suppression hearings are concerned with making available to the defense evidence which authorities may have been keeping secret. Most of the witnesses called by the two defendants have been police. The two defendants are representing themselves, with the assistance of court-appointed advisory counsel Andrew Marsh and David Callahan.

During the hearings, Skyhorse and Mohawk obtained a memo drafted by prosecutor Kassoris and signed by Ventura County Sheriff's Office commander Hollis. The memo directs all sheriff's personnel not to talk to representatives of the defense unless they cleared with Kassoris. Kassoris had set conditions for defense interviews of police witnesses which were not acceptable, for instance, police had to be interviewed in a group, he stipulated, a great help to witnesses who are trying to keep their stories together.

Under these unusual circumstances, the defense has not been able to prepare brief and to-the-point examination of police witnesses, and it has taken a long time to zero in on them while they are on the witness stand. George Donner, a private detective with twenty years experience said he had never before encountered this refusal of police to talk with the defense legal team — one deputy told him "it would be my ass" if he allowed himself to be interviewed. The local press has hardly mentioned the gag rule, however, and instead accuses the defense of stalling the trial.



— Akwesasne Notes photo by Ted Schultz

At the defense table: Paul Skyhorse, attorneys David Callahan and Andrew Marsh, and Richard Mohawk

On the afternoon of the slaying, Virginia de Luce, also known as "Blue Dove", a woman who has testified she was an FBI agent, visited the "AIM Camp" and took Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk to "a Free Sarah Bad Heart Bull demonstration" in Los Angeles. There wasn't much, if any, demonstration, however, but a regular army of photographers and observers were there — more of them, in fact, than the 25 or so participants. An unknown government agent took pictures of Skyhorse and Mohawk, pictures which were said to be used to identify them a week later in Phoenix, Arizona. Police accounts of how the pair were located in Phoenix are incredible, and there are reports that FBI/CIA undercover agent Doug Durham and a Phoenix intelligence officer named Rudy Santacruz were both involved.

Meanwhile, back at the "AIM Camp" on October 10, several people decided to have a party at the Hollywood Hills home of TV actor David Carradine. One of those persons was Marvin Wayne Red Shirt, a Pine Ridge Oglala. Reports from Pine Ridge sources say he enjoyed a brief career as a goon for Richard Wilson during and after Wounded Knee. There are also many indications which are as yet unconfirmed that Red Shirt was some sort of informant for the FBI or other agencies. He is certainly performing that function now, not only in his stories about Mohawk and Skyhorse, but also in giving information that various native people are involved in gun-running and assassination plots — possibly a tie-in with the current grand jury round-up in Oklahoma.

Another party-planner was Holly Broussard, the non-Indian daughter of a retired Naval Commander and wealthy Long Beach businessman. At the time of the murder, she and Red Shirt had just returned from a trip to South Dakota. Reports are that she and Red Shirt are now married and have a child, although Red Shirt, whose records list him as single, has at other times had at least three other wives and other children.

Another person involved in the party plan was Marcella Eagle Staff McNoise of Seattle, who has a heavy felony record and a drinking problem. Two more complete the crew: Lee War Lance, also known as Leonard Walks Out, reportedly from North Dakota, a friend of David Carradine, and Roland Knox, also known as White Crow, who said he was an Eskimo from Alaska. Roland told a police psychiatrist that the CIA had offered him money to keep quiet about certain things, which he didn't elaborate on, and the police didn't question him further on the subject.

These five people left the "AIM Camp" sometime after dark October 10, leaving behind Amy Broken Leg French, originally from Rosebud, with her children. Skyhorse and Mohawk had not returned from the demonstration when the group left.

Though Carradine was not at home, all but Knox went into his house anyway and continued drinking. Knox took off with Broussard's car. At 10 p.m., Red Shirt, Broussard, and McNoise went to the home of a neighbor of Carradine's and asked him to call a cab. Red-and-White Cab Company driver George Aird responded to the call — Red Shirt, Broussard and McNoise got in and the cab started for the "AIM Camp".

The wire to the cab's meter had been jerked loose, stopping the meter at a reading of $6.00 when police took pictures of it the day after the murder. Defense reconstruction of the route, using 1974 cab fare rates, shows this must have happened seven miles from Carradine's residence on the 27-mile journey from there to the camp. When the cab was found, its little safe had been pried open. The cab had been wiped down for fingerprints. At some point, Red Shirt began to drive the cab — he says the driver had asked him to. One of Red Shirt's palm prints — in blood — was found on the cab's hood.

When the cab, driven by Red Shirt, arrived at the camp, it crashed through a chain across the gate, breaking the chain and overturning the gateposts. After this — at some time and in some manner by some "unknown" persons — the cab driver was beaten, stabbed 17 times, some hair was cut from his head, and his body was placed in a dry well near a tipi set up on the camp grounds.

Press reports of the murder called it an "Indian Ritual Scalping" and pictures of the tipi and the large "AIM Camp 13" sign at the entrance reinforced the "Indian image".

"Evidence" for what did happen, and who did murder George Aird, comes from a variety of different versions — cooked up during two years of coaching — by Red Shirt, Broussard, and McNoise.

Those three cannot be prosecuted for their involvement — they were given signed immunity agreements in the early winter of 1974 stating that they will never be prosecuted for their acts. The exchange was testimony damaging to Skyhorse and Mohawk.

Red Shirt's immunity agreement is especially interesting. It states that he will be given a lie detector test and will be asked if he stabbed Aird. If the lie detector shows he is telling the truth when he replies "no", all charges against him will be dropped except one for "aiding Skyhorse and Mohawk to escape". If the lie detector would show that Red Shirt did, in fact, stab Aird, the police promised all charges would be dropped except for a charge of assault with a deadly weapon.

The defense finally received a tape of Red Shirt taking his polygraph. He was coached extensively by officer Edward Sizemore and taken through several rehearsals, but it didn't work – he flunks the test as the lie detector shows he did stab the driver. The police were careful not to ask him any of the obvious questions, like "did you see Skyhorse or Mohawk stab Aird?" – if he said "yes" and the lie detector showed he was lying, there would be an official record making him useless as a witness against the two men.

In January of 1975, the murder, kidnapping, and robbery charges against Red Shirt were dropped. He pled guilty to assault with a deadly weapon and was sentenced to probation for five years. Then he was released. A college scholarship was arranged for him, and he was given a job at the Long Beach Navy Base. He lived with the Broussard family for a while in their luxurious home, and then in an apartment provided for him and Holly Broussard "in exchange for some work he did for me," Commander Louis J. Broussard, Holly's father, says.

All charges against Holly Broussard were dropped. At one point, prosecutor Michael Bradbury told the press that this was because "our investigations showed she was only peripherally involved."

However, evidence shows that Holly was arrested at the scene, along with Red Shirt, in the early hours of the murder. Her clothing and boots wer bloody. Later crime lab reports showed the blood on her boots formed patterns indicating she had kicked the driver after he was wounded and bleeding. When she was arrested, a detective seized a knife from her, and later he testified that the knife "had what appeared to be blood" on it. Somehow, although the police took the knife for evidence, it has "disappeared" and no one will say what happened to it.



Probably it's a good thing that the officials from the crime lab, not the police, found George Aird's keys in Holly's pockets after her clothing was given to the lab for blood analysis. Otherwise, these too might have disappeared. Lab reports say there is a bloody rim around the pocket – Aird's blood, partly diluted with water – as if she had tried to wash her hands hastily and shoved the keys in her pocket with a hand that was still wet and somewhat bloody.

Red Shirt, too, was covered with "extensive" bloodstains when he was arrested. He and Holly had been hiding under a house at the camp when the police arrived. After an hour or so, they slipped into another building to wash up a little, and then tried to sneak away. Red Shirt's bloody fingerprints were found on Aird's personal and cab company papers, which had been placed in an outdoor oven, and were found unburned.

Marcella McNoise was arrested in the shower, according to one police report, but according to other officers, she was fully dressed standing next to a doorway when taken into custody. There were extensive bloodstains on her pants, hair and feet. LAb reports show that the blood was smeared on her pants as if she had wiped her hands there, but according to a later story she gave police, she said Aird had fallen on her when he "tried to get away from Skyhorse and Mohawk."

Amy Broken Leg was arrested upstairs, unclothed; arresting officers believed she was pretending sleep, but she was soon released with no charges.

Red Shirt, McNoise, and Broussard were extensively interrogated by Ventura County sheriff's officers immediately after their arrests – the defense was recently furnished incomplete, edited, and sometimes inaudible tapes of these interrogations and of 65 others, most of which have not yet been transcribed because the defense has lacked money and help.

During the suppression hearings, the defense learned of the existence of a master taping system which tapes everything that goes on in the East Valley Sheriff's Station. Portions of this "little Watergate" began to emerge in the hearings after defense investigator Paula Giese found a mislabeled tape which the prosecution had furnished to the defense, evidently by mistake. This tape is made from the master tape – it is clear and sharp, and it contains the "off the record" portion of Red Shirt's first interrogation.

Police witnesses told conflicting stories about the tapes from this system: some said no tapes were made, other said they had a "high-level background hum" and were inaudible, or that the masters were "returned to library stock and used for new recordings", or even that the master system didn't exist in 1974 but was added after remodelling in 1975.

In the "official" tape of the interrogation, there are two parts. In Part I, Red Shirt says he and Holly were up on the mountain meditating and knew nothing about anything until suddenly they were arrested. He says he got the fresh slash on one hand in a fight two days previously with Paul Skyhorse. He is then placed under arrest for murder, and they go off the record "to take a urine speciman" at 6:30 a.m.

When the record goes back on again, Sgt. McCoy says, "It's 6:35 a.m. Red Shirt, you've decided to tell us the truth and I want it on the record why." Red Shirt says that as an Indian, he cannot tell a lie and he doesn't want to "suffer for another man's foolish doings." He then asserts that Skyhorse and Mohawk were in the cab (it was supposed to be Mohawk's idea to call the cab from Carradine's house) and "I saw Paul stab him twice and Mohawk three times." Then Red Shirt says he and Holly ran away and hid from fear of Skyhorse and Mohawk.

But the tape from the secret "master system" contains the "off the record" moments. First of all, no urine specimen was taken – in fact, according to recent testimony of crime lab personnel, there was apparently some fakery with Red Shirt's urine specimen and the blood/ alcohol reading made from it.

Then, the coroner, Dr. Kornblum, is heard examining Red Shirt's hand. Kornblum tells him the cut is no more than two hours old, which Red Shirt denies. St. McCoy tells him, "Red Shirt, we've got a case. And I wouldn't be wasting my time on you if I didn't know you are involved."

Sgt. McKinley says, "But Red Shirt, *we* don't think *you* did it, though."

And McCoy chimes in, "Yeah. Why do you think we're telling you all this? Now why don't you tell us who did it?" Red Shirt hastily whispers "Mohawk!" which is apparently what they want to hear. There is a lot of murmuring – only the names "Paul" and "Mohawk" can be heard.

Then the police tell him he can talk with Holly, and they show him the hidden microphone of their taping system. They play back the ending of "part I" of his interrogation.

Next we hear footsteps out in the hall, and Holly's voice can be heard getting closer. Her tone is whiny and spaced out – no words are audible on the tape. There are door-opening and sitting-down sounds, and Red Shirt whispers, "Hi, Holly."

Then the taped voice of Sgt. McCoy says, "It's 6:35 a.m. . . " and Holly apparently sits through Red Shirt's recitation of Part II – a great help to her in conforming her version to his when she later changes her "up on the mountain meditating" alibi which she and Red Shirt had agreed upon while hiding together.

In the days and weeks that followed, a great deal of embarrassing evidence kept turning up which pointed the finger directly at Red Shirt, Broussard and McNoise. Some of it, like Holly's knife, just disappeared. Even items actually admitted into evidence in the court are now mysteriously empty, and tags, lab records and notes have disappeared.



Former head of the Ventura County Crime Lab, Jess Litterly, has been fired as a result of prosecutor Kassoris' maneuvers against him. Litterly talked with defense investigators, and said he had been fired because he would not force the "real" scientific evidence into fake patterns that would help the prosecution rather than the defense.

Litterly said there had been pressure on him to do this for two other cases besides the Skyhorse-Mohawk case. He said that 14 items of evidence in the Skyhorse-Mohawk trial were removed from his control and sent to a more "cooperative" lab in Santa Barbara.

Litterly expressed cautious willingness to testify as a defense witness in the trial. Since Skyhorse and Mohawk's legal work has to be conducted inside the jail, it is likely that this information was obtained by the prosecution through bugging.

At any rate, prosecutor Kassoris held a secret hearing in which impeachment material on Litterly was entered into court records which the defense has not been allowed to see. At present, one of the most urgent defense priorities is several thousand dollars to hire laboratory work on certain evidence items in this technically-complicated case.



There were three witnesses to the immediate aftermath of the murder. A car driven by David Marruffo, with passengers Carmie Fish, a Menominee, and Marilyn Skyhorse, Paul's wife, drove into the camp, just in time to see Aird's body lying, bloody, behind the cab. Maruffo and Fish told police they saw and conversed with two people who were standing over the body – Red Shirt and McNoise. Marilyn saw them too, but also told police she saw a third figure standing in the shadows, whose face and body she couldn't see too well. She thought it might have been her husband, with whom she was angry at the time – he had told her he was going to leave her, because he believed she had been overly friendly with Red Shirt.

Police were eager to have Marilyn Skyhorse as a witness. Without her, their case rested on testimony of three people who are linked by the strong evidence to the crime: Red Shirt, Broussard and McNoise. Marilyn was shown the gruesome autopsy photos and some of the worst of the "crime scene" photos, whose details still, two years later, are burned into her mind.

Cruz Reyna, an investigator for the district attorney's office, who showed her these photos, told her there was no doubt that Skyhorse had done this, that he was insane and a danger to everyone, including her. He said Skyhorse might kill her if he ever got out of prison.

She was also threatened with prosecution if she did not cooperate with the state. "They said they'd throw me in jail until I did," she recently told defense investigators. Reyna threatened her with prosecution for welfare fraud, as well as withdrawal of the Aid to Dependent Children [ADC] benefits on which she was caring for her baby. He told her that as a Canadian – she is a Micmac from Nova Scotia – she was not eligible for welfare, a statement that is untrue. Marilyn said she felt the prosecution would take her baby away from her, and she sent the child to the other side of the continent for safety's sake. A minor tragedy of the case is that police, the district attorney and whatever government help they had, broke up the Skyhorse family in order to create a star witness for their case – Paul Skyhorse's own wife.

Now, however, Marilyn says she does not wish to be used by the prosecution and is invoking marital privilege, which says a wife cannot be forced to testify against her husband. As a result, the prosecution is trying to prove that the marriage ceremony performed for Paul and Marilyn by Leonard Crow Dog in New York in 1971 is not a valid marriage.

Skyhorse and Mohawk feel that the testimony of the other two "witness car people" would clearly help them, at least if it is the same as what they said in 1974. Unfortunately, they were told (starting in 1975) that David Marruffo had died. Defense investigators kept turning up evidence that he was still alive and around. So, in May of this year, prosecutor Kassoris gave the defense a death certificate for David Marruffo – it shows that he died on April 23, 1976 – but the filing date stamped on the certificate is April 14, nine days before. There is no state seal on the certificate. No autopsy was performed, and the certifying physician says he can't remember anything about it.

Is David Marruffo still alive somewhere? What was his relation with the FBI?

Carmie Fish, who also saw only Red Shirt and McNoise standing over the body, is presently serving time in Wisconsin for a stabbing. Her sentence has been

(continued on next page)

reduced. She will apparently still be available as a defense witness.

In the total lot of testimony, it is clear a great deal of story-changing has gone on, some of it tape-recorded, by Red Shirt, Broussard and McNoise. New stories had to be created and made to conform to each other in detail, because of the way new evidence kept turning up implicating them in the death, and clearing Skyhorse and Mohawk.

From the very first, police and others showed no interest whatever in Red Shirt, Broussard or McNoise as anything other than witnesses against Skyhorse and Mohawk, who were not arrested on the scene, and are linked to the crime by no physical evidence whatsoever. This fact, supported by the above information and many more details, raises a question – why?



Why? If no government/police conspiracy or frame-up is involved here, what *is* the reason why all the authorities showed no interest in three persons highly involved in this brutal slaying, and gave them a great deal of help in trying to make up stories which could explain away all evidence?

Once one starts thinking along those lines and asking the basic question – "Why?" – a number of other questions arise:

Is or was Red Shirt on some government or police agency payroll?

Was anyone else at the camp an informer, operative or agent?

Where are the telephone tap records that the FBI was keeping for the camp?

What was the real role of Virginia de Luce or "Blue Dove"? What was the real role of FBI/CIA operative Douglass Durham? Where are the FBI reports that at least these two FBI personnel must have filed? Where are all the other reports that various police and intelligence agencies were keeping about the camp and its residents?

At lease one summary of an intelligence report has turned up which suggest some sort of set-up was going on.

The defense has a handwritten note addressed to "Room 0029", whatever that is, apparently from a Lt. Murphy, with information supplied by a Sgt. Andrade, whoever they are. It is dated Oct. 9, the day before the murder, and summarizes information recorded on a tape. The first half of the memo describes some automatic weapons fire at the camp – turns out a local dope dealer was shooting at the Indians. The second half describes information from a "female informant" (Blue Dove denied it was herself) who says there are "fifteen new faces at the camp", that automatic weapons and ammunition are being stockpiled, and that the Indians plan to take over the valley, shutting off water and electricity, presumably to make another Wounded Knee of it.

The memo recommends that "Now is the time for a show of force against the Indians at the camp" – even if the information leading to that decision is "mostly rumor". The portion of the tape which should have details of the "planned takeover" which the memo summarizes has been erased.

Apparently *something* was, in fact, being planned. A long-time AIM member, now in prison, has told defense investigators that shortly before the murder, Doug Durham made a great effort to have him take charge of the camp. Durham told him there were "big plans which will expose the racism of the sheriff's department and all those people in the area." What did Durham mean by this? Whose "plans"?

Why did David Carradine visit Doug Durham in St. Paul two weeks before the murder? Was there any connection with the "big plans" in which Doug tried to involve people?

Everyone's questions about the murder *might* be answered if Judge Lewis would order full disclosure of the records pertaining to the camp which were kept by the FBI, the CIA, Army Intelligence, and various local police agencies' intelligence divisions. So far, Lewis has said none of this is relevant, and he has refused to make such an order.

An earlier article in AKWESASNE NOTES this spring tried to piece together the situation with the information available. The situation was an emergency – there was the strong possibility that the trial would come off in obscurity, and that any government conspiracy would go undetected. For that reason, we apologize to persons whose possible involvement was speculated upon based on information available at the time. In some cases information was incomplete because some people had refused to talk with anyone associated with the Skyhorse-Mohawk defense, perhaps through fear of becoming involved.

We would especially like to note that Little Bear (Bob Morgan) is presently cooperating with Skyhorse and Mohawk. By all but a few accounts, when Little Bear was in charge of the camp, it was a place of refuge for Indian people with no money and no place to go.

Injustice Breeds Injustices

In October, 1974, Robin Louis Black Cloud, aka David West, 17, a Sioux from South Dakota, and Leonard Rising Sun, also known as Clinton Jerome Rising Sun, or Red Sun, 26, of Turtle Mountain, North Dakota, were both residents of "AIM Camp 13". Two days before George Aird was slain, Rising Sun asked Black Cloud to accompany him on an errand. Only when they reached the residence of Herrell A. Wood, 49, did Black Cloud know that a robbery was to take place. During the course of the robbery, Rising Sun stabbed Wood in the leg with a knife.

Later, Wood testified in court that it was Black Cloud who prevented Rising Sun from stabbing him further. Sheriff's deputies have been releasing a version of the incident as a "torture robbery" and saying the instrument Wood was stabbed with was a four-foot fishing gaff, possibly to create an atmosphere of sensationalism to fit with the Aird slaying. This information from the sheriff's office was printed in the Early Spring, 1976, issue of NOTES.

Strangely enough, police arrived to arrest the pair while the robbery was still in progress. But no one called the police! Police claimed a "neighbor" had called, but the nearest house to Wood's is 100 yards away and no noises were made during the robbery.

Black Cloud was remanded to California juvenile authorities – but Rising Sun received first class treatment. He was placed on probation after the Sacramento area office of the BIA intervened. Philip Swain of that office visited him in prison August 5, and then wrote Judge Donald A. Pollack that the BIA had a grand plan for Rising Sun: "it is recommended that he be turned over to the BIA program for training in his future endeavors. Our office is willing to assist him with the following services: financial assistance while in school, to include monies for transportation, food, housing, and clothing. Upon completion of training, assistance in locating a job." Rising Sun's court records have been sealed and cannot be inspected.

Black Cloud, however, has been ignored. He was held at the Ventura County Jail, and then turned over to California juvenile authorities and placed in Camarillo. This spring he was transferred to the Youth Training School in Ontario, California, and at the end of June he was moved to the infamous Atascadero, a mental hospital where experiments in social control have been conducted. Although the transfer was to be for 30 days, now he is being held for a six-month period, threatened with drug therapy and shock treatments.

Philip Swain of the BIA, who had been so helpful to Rising Sun, says helping Black Cloud: "I don't go to



that place [Atascadero] because it's a nuthouse, but I'll keep my ears open."

In the meantime, Black Cloud's original conviction of robbery has been reversed – but the prosecution has asked for a retrial, so Black Cloud is still being held.

In summary, an adult and a minor commit a robbery. The adult, who stabbed the victim, was in jail a short time and then released with aid from the BIA. The minor, who prevented the victim from receiving serious injury, after almost two years is still behind bars and threatened with treatment which could destroy his mind. Persons working with the Skyhorse-Mohawk legal defense wonder if Black Cloud, too, had been set up in a violent act which would discredit native people.

Anyone with further information which might help Black Cloud to obtain his freedom should contact Julie Christensen, POBox 46334, West Hollywood, California 90046, or call (213) 466-2466.

Opening the Curtain of Silence

Other witnesses or potential witnesses have been subjected to various forms of harrassments. However, it is hoped that no one will be frightened into silence by these threats, because Mohawk's and Skyhorse's lives depend on their getting a great deal more assistance, information, and public support.

Donations or offers of assistance can be sent to:

Skyhorse-Mohawk Judicial Liberation Comm.
c/o Attorney Andrew Marsh
326 S. "A" St.
Oxnard, California 93030

YUROK NATION PEOPLES REGAIN CONTROL OF KLAMATH RIVER AREA, BLOCKADE SPORTSMEN DESPITE COURT ORDER

Yurok Nation (California) – Yurok peoples defied a court order and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers by maintaining a rope-and-net barricade across the Klamath River to keep out marauding hoardes of "sports" fishermen after salmon.

"We are trying to fish the way our ancestors did," Margaret Carlson, a Yurok spokeswoman said in explaining the blockade. "There is nothing within any law that can stop us from doing this."

The area defended by the Yuroks was restored to them by a U.S. Supreme Court ruling last year which established Yurok reservation rights to the riverbed and to a mile-wide strip on either side of the Klamath. The court also ruled that the Yuroks could fish with gillnets, which are prohibited under state law.

"We're really evaluating what our next step is going to be," said Lt. Col. Karl S. Schmid, deputy district engineer for the U.S. Army. "We haven't decided yet. I hope it doesn't come to force – we are trying to avoid trouble," he added.

The nets were strung in late August. Two days later, after the Corps of Engineers issued a cease-and-desist order and a court issued a restraining order, the Yuroks posted guards on the river.

One of the complaintants in the court is Alvin Larson, a boat owner who claims he's losing $600 a day because tourists can't take his boats on the river. "They're real disappointed," he said of the sportsmen.

* * * * *

The action followed an "Indian Land Convention" called by the Yuroks to discuss a pattern of theft of land allotments that go back to 1918 involving back-tax scares, Indian "x's" on documents and twenty-dollar gold pieces.

With the Yurok's getting back land that most of them had considered stolen and lost, state fish and game wardens have withdrawn. Within the two-mile-wide corridor, much of the land is owned by lumber companies and scattered settlers.

The Yuroks are also contesting the construction of a road on or near Yurok sacred grounds in Yurok high-country by the U.S. Forest Service. U.S. District Judge Lloyd Burke denied an injunction to halt the road in a case brought by four native nations and the Sierra Club in June, saying there had been "compliance with the law."

However, Burke said he personally thought the proposed paved logging road through unspoiled forests in the Six Rivers National Forest would "produce only more trouble as time passes." He said he had serious reservations about the Forest Service's evaluation of the landslides which were likely to occur.

The Yurok Indian Custom and Rights Organization has issued an appeal for funds, legal help, and other supporters. The group's address is POBox 1334, Hoopa, California 95546.

Fishing Rights Turmoil In The North–West

Olympia, Washington
Salem, Oregon

When 1974 federal court decisions upheld the righteousness and legality of the rights of native people to fish, most native people celebrated what they thought was the end of a long struggle through which many of them had been bruised, jailed, beaten and hassled beyond belief. Finally, they thought, the State of Washington and State of Oregon officials would be obliged to obey the law of the land.

However, a backlash of anti-native sentiment continues to fuel the controversy. U.S. District Court Judge George H. Boldt, who issued the clarifying decision on February 12, 1974, has been hanged in effigy. Law enforcement officials have continued to arrest and abuse native fishermen. There has been an effort to change federal law so that the newly-won gains of the native people will be lost.

The Boldt decision reinforced rights which treaties had upheld, by specifying that native people should have the opportunity to catch 50% of the harvestable runs of salmon and steelhead returning to traditional, off-reservation fishing grounds.

Tensions and tempers are tight. At a recent hearing of the Pacific Marine Fisheries Commission, an unidentified man shouted angrily that the Boldt decision was depriving people of their livelihoods while Congress was taking no action. Four young persons representing the Freedom Socialist Party and the Native American Solidarity Committee, who tried to speak in favor of the Boldt decision, drew boos, catcalls, and derisive labels. Other speakers at the hearing criticized spending federal money to aid native peoples because they said the rights of non-Indian fishermen had been violated.

State Representative Mike Parker, a Tacoma Democrat, suggests that native treaty fishing-rights be treated as a property right that can be expropriated, and be purchased by the U.S. He estimated the cost at $100-million. "It would cost us very little to purchase these rights, and, in the long run, every citizen of the State of Washington would benefit from this," he said.

Another Democratic candidate for Congress, Norman Hicks, has urged Judge Boldt to withdraw from the case, saying that while he didn't question the decision, the judge's name was synonymous with tension and discord. Rather than to follow the law, he suggested, what was needed was "judicial actions acceptable to all parties". He promised he would introduce new legislation if he is elected.

Representative Lloyd Meeds says his mail expresses substantial dissent from the Boldt decision. "It's our busing issue," he explains. He said one letter demanded, "Shoot the Indians!" He says his constituents are more concerned with native fishing than they are with inflation, jobs, taxes or war and peace.

Meeds says there is no use in introducing legislation to change the law – "all those congressmen from New York and New Jersey and Pennsylvania would get up and vote against it just to improve their civil rights records," he observed. He said that while an anti-Boldt bill introduced would guarantee re-election for an enterprising legislator, the bill wouldn't have a prayer, and would be an act of election-year demagoguery.

Quoting a Library of Congress study valuing the native half of the fisheries for one year at $21-million, Meeds said that sum would have to be paid for at least a hundred years, totalling $2.1-billion. For a small fraction of that cost, he noted, the fishing run can be increased. He also said enactment of the 200-mile off-shore fishing zone should help relieve the situation.

On August 26, Judge Boldt chastised Washington Fisheries Department officials for restricting native peoples from catching sockeye salmon bound for the Fraser River in British Columbia, and ordered that natives be given compensatory seasons in Puget Sound on other species of salmon. Fisheries Director Don Moos said his department had thought the sockeye catch was "a different set of books". By the time the native people could get the case into court, the sockeye run had passed.

Efforts of Washington fishermen to get special treatment in the state courts, which for years denied native fishing rights, have failed. The Washington State Supreme Court, in a sharply-divided opinion issued in August, said that the issue can be resolved only by the U.S. Supreme Court. The state court dismissed an appeal of a commercial fisherman objecting to regulations which gave native people their 50% of the salmon run. Thurston County Superior Court Judge Gerry Alexander had initially ruled in his favor, saying that the Fisheries Department had overreached its authority.

Another Fisheries maneuver was to arbitrarily decide that any hatchery-reared salmon stocks were not included in the Boldt decision. However, Boldt issued a restraining order nullifying that move in late July.

The native groups have united under an agency known as the Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission, which not only protects native interests, but also regulates native fishermen and is concerned with the conservation of the fisheries resource.

Their main opposition comes from sports fishing groups and coastal trollers who say the new situation is creating grave financial hardships and causing some to go bankrupt. These interests have been consistently aided by state officials – a situation that has been in existence virtually since the treaties were signed. At that time, the U.S. Army had to protect native fishermen from white settlers who refused to honor the U.S. Constitution.



– Oregon Journal

Non-native fishermen . . . demanding "equal rights"

In May, Yakima fishermen who took part in a 10-day season on the Columbia River above Bonneville Dam faced arrests and had their nets confiscated by state Fisheries Department patrolmen. Persons purchasing Yakima-caught salmon also were threatened with arrest.

While the native fishermen have been blamed for depleted runs of salmon, native spokesmen point out that the real villains are dams, urbanization, pollution, logging practices, and massive commercial mechanized fishing operations off the coast.

Actually, the Boldt fishing decision represents only phase one of the total native lawsuit. He is also being asked to rule on stream and water usage. Native people claim they have at least partial control over the streams because the water quality affects their fishing. Judge Boldt divided the case into the two phases when it was first filed in 1970. However, preoccupation with the fishing aspect has prevented the second part from being heard.

Another infringement on native fishing rights by state officials was prohibited April 15 by U.S. District Judge Marshall Neill in Spokane, who ruled that state arrests in 1975 of four non-Indians for fishing on the Colville Indian Reservation without a state license were unconstitutional. Native people have a sovereign right to regulate non-Indian fishing on their reservations, Neill ruled.

Until then, the state Game Department has held that it has the right to regulate non-Indian sport fishing no matter where it occurs, department director Ralph Larson said. The fishermen arrested had tribal permits.

Phase II of Suit Even More Controversial

Attorneys for treaty peoples and the U.S. Government have filed a request for a declaratory judgment against the State of Washington in Phase II which could have far-reaching implications and would make the stormy reaction to Phase I mild by comparison to the controversy that is in the wind.

In this second part of the suit, the treaty peoples contend that it is meaningless to have your fishing rights reaffirmed if pollution and environmental damages and other factors substantially reduce the fish catch. If the court agrees, native people could block any authorized activity that could be shown to have a potentially damaging effect on fisheries. This could include building bridges or highways over streams, logging along streams, building nuclear-power operations.

"Whole watersheds have been rearranged or destroyed to make room for development," the native legal brief reads. "Fresh and saltwater systems have been polluted and subjected to changes in flow, level, velocity and temperature; migration routes have been restricted or blocked; spawning beds have been damaged or destroyed; artificially-introduced fish populations have displaced native populations, predator and disease problems have been aggravated, and generally, the ecological basis necessary to maintain the Indian fishery has been seriously tampered with." Much of this could have been prevented by the state simply by withholding various permits and approvals, the suit contends.

Oregon Report: Weather's The Same

In Oregon, U.S. District Judge Robert C. Belloni has had to bear the brunt of the attack by white peoples against native fishing rights. In August, Belloni ruled that restraining orders issued by state judges favoring gillnet fishermen were invalid. However, attorneys for native tribes agreed to allow the gillnetters an additional two days of fishing.

The native compromise was extended in the hope that it would "start an era of good feelings". Olney Patt, vice-chairman of the Warm Springs Tribal Council, said he hoped the action would lead to further discussion resulting in a "long-range, comprehensive plan for managing the Indian fish resource."

Judge Belloni praised the move, saying "it's nonsense that such a plan, agreeable to all parties involved, cannot be worked out." He said he hoped agreement would be reached so that again next year the federal court would not have to consider the matter.

In 1975, Belloni had ordered both Washington and Oregon to prepare a comprehensive plan to regulate fishing on the Columbia River. In evident despair, he emphasized that he had been urging such a plan for no fewer than six years – and the plan still has not been submitted. The agencies have refused to permit the native people to take part in planning, in spite of court orders requiring tribal participation.

But Belloni has been firm. "No longer will I allow fish to be taken downstream and then have to tell the Indians, 'I'm sorry but the fish for escapement (into federal hatcheries) must come out of your share'," Belloni told state officials in his court.

This summer, commercial fishermen simply defied Belloni's federal court order barring them from trolling until July 1. Belloni ordered 38 fishermen and 8 buyers into court to show cause why they should not be cited for contempt of court.

Ted Bugas, vice president of the Columbia River Salmon and Tuna Packers Association, and a lobbyist for lower Columbia River fishermen, decried the Belloni ruling. "The courts have ignored 130 years of history," he said.

The Oregonian, an influential Pacific Coast newspaper, has taken a redneck stand editorially. "The old gag about giving the country back to the Indians isn't funny anymore. That's what is happening with the help of federal courts, the Department of Justice, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. And Congress flatly refuses to face up to the need to establish equal rights among Indians and non-Indians, rather than superior Indian rights," the paper said in a June 30 editorial. It demanded that the Oregon and Washington congressional delegations protest and sponsor legislation "to amend treaties and to declare equal rights for all Americans."

Because of the situation of non-cooperation in joint management of resources, members of the Confederated Tribes of Coos, Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw decided in August to ignore state hunting and fishing regulations on their tribal territory. They drew up their own set of regulations.

State officials initially weren't much impressed. "Our directions from the county attorney are to treat them as we would anyone else," said Cpl. Frank Sanders of the Coos Bay office of the Oregon State Police.

Edgar Bowen, chief of the Confederated Tribes, said 1500 tribal members would be issued permits. He said their right to hunt and fish has never been taken away, and no compensation had been made for their lands, which run from Florence south to Bandon, and from the Coast Range out to sea 12 miles west of the continental shelf.

Tribal officials said hunting will take place on public domain and large holdings of lumber companies. Bill Brainard of the Coos Nation said because the large companies were so heavily subsidized by state and federal governments, the native people considered the lands as part of the U.S. "public domain".

Esther Stutzman, also of the Coos Nation, said, "In many ways, our laws are far more stringent (than the state's) and game can be taken only for consumption. There is no trophy hunting."

However, this upsurge of native rights is not helping the Siletz-Rogue Nation, which has never been recognized as even being in existence. Oregon citizens are opposing their campaign for restoration under a bill introduced by Senator Mark Hatfield lest they become still one more native group seeking hunting and fishing rights. However, a Library of Congress lawyer says there is no way that restoring official tribal status to the Siletz People would help them claim hunting or fishing rights.

[Thanks to Jack Anderson and United Features Syndicate, Associated Press, Mike Wynn and the Seattle Times, United Press International, Tacoma News Tribune, Jack Wilkins of the Seattle Post Intelligencer, Steven Carter and Bill Chidester of The Oregonian, Charles Wilkinson and the Oregon Journal, for information used here.]

THE EAST

Oneida Nation (New York) – The Oneida Nation's original land south of the Canadian border is only 32 acres. And the Oneidas are having a tough time establishing their control over that.

The struggle cost two lives this summer – by fire.

On June 25, Samuel Winder, 48, and his sister-in-law, Janice Winder, 45, died when a house trailer burned on Oneida territory – and the fire department of the nearby non-native town of Oneida refused to respond to the alarm.

The municipal fire department had been ordered not to respond by Oneida's mayor, Herbert D. Brewer, who said he feared for the safety of the city's firemen. He said there had been a series of incidents last winter when police were met at the Oneida Nation's boundary line by armed members of the Oneida Warrior Society, and that he cannot send his fire department where his policemen can't go.

Some of the Oneidas had to go without electricity and telephone service last winter, too, when servicemen refused to go into the Oneida Nation land because there was no "police protection".

Dave Honyoust, an Oneida leader, said the mayor's actions were designed as part of a takeover of Oneida territory. Honyoust said that the mayor was well aware of an agreement where police and firemen could request permission to enter the Oneida Nation's territory, thus preserving Oneida sovereignty.

Mayor Brewer also claims that he cannot deal with Honyoust, because there are two factions of Oneidas, and Honyoust doesn't represent the entire nation. Last August 10, there was a meeting of the nation, and incumbent president Jacob Thompson was removed as president, and Honyoust took over temporarily until the Nation could reorganize.

Honyoust says the mayor is also up tight about a court fight currently in progress, in which the Oneidas are trying to get back 750 acres adjacent to their present 32 – land that was sold 80 years ago in violation of treaties. Some white residents of the area are said to be fearful that their land will be confiscated and turned back to the Indians.

That case has already received the attention of the U.S. Supreme Court. When the District Court ruled it did not have jurisdiction in the suit, the Oneidas appealed to the highest court, which said native people could take land claims to the federal courts even if they are not in possession of the lands, a landmark ruling.

Before the War Among the Colonists in 1775, the Oneidas owned six million acres of land in what is now central New York State. Although they aided George Washington's army, after the war was over their land dwindled down to nothing until 1920, when they won the court case restoring to them all of 32 acres.

Most of the land was taken by the State of New York, which bypassed provisions in a 1795 treaty, and other federal law which demanded federal ratification of all land transfers from native peoples. In fact, New York State signed over two dozen treaties with the Oneidas which were illegal under federal law.

The Oneida Nation is now scattered, with reservations in Ontario and Wisconsin as well as the New York area group.

Some 125 persons in 26 families live on the Oneida Nation land. That skimpy 32 acres was won in a hard-fought 1920 court suit. Now, in addition to the suit to recover the lost 750 acres, the Oneidas have another suit seeking rent on public buildings and highways in portions of New York's Oneida and Madison counties. Honyoust says that influential area residents have suggested that if the Oneidas would drop their lawsuits and pay property taxes, they would receive fire protection.



– New York Times photo

David Honyoust tries out Oneida Nation fire truck after aid from municipality is refused by mayor

Although there has been friction between the Oneida Nation and neighbors along West Road, and some police harrassment claimed, relations were reasonably cordial until last November. Police who had warrants to serve simply called the Warrior Society, and the wanted persons were turned over to the police. But in November, there was a small chicken-coop fire. Firemen who arrived saw an armed confrontation between the traditional and Thompson factions. In mid-December, there was another confrontation, and shots were fired. Police were called, but an ancient fire engine – bought last summer for $300 from a nearby Russian Orthodox monastery – was across the road barring their entry.

On December 18, city police came to investigate an open door on Jacob Thompson's residence. Investigating officers were reminded that they must receive permission before entering the territory. However, police decided to proceed to confrontation, and the municipality's 24 officers donned riot gear. However, State Police Major Robert S. Charland intervened, and an agreement was reached that the armed Oneidas would remain on their territory, and the police drew back.

At that time, the Oneida Warrior Society issued a statement saying, "We don't want to fight with anybody. We would certainly like to live in peace and friendship. We want very much to establish mutual understanding and a good working relationship with the city fire department and police."

Thompson is now executive director of the Massachusetts Commission on Indian Affairs. During his tenure as president, his government was not officially recognized as the "Oneida Nation" by the Iroquois Confederacy. His administration was characterized as "progressive", meaning U.S. federal grant programs and a secular government, rather than the traditional government as specified in the Great Law of Peace, the Iroquois Constitution.

Honyoust, however, says the Oneidas wish "to rekindle the great traditions of our past heritage in readopting the Iroquois Great Law." He said the Warrior Society would close down all federal programs on the reservation.

(Thanks to information from Louis A. Rappaport of the Syracuse Post-Standard, Richard G. Case of the Syracuse Herald-American, Fred Ferretti of the New York Times News Service, the Associated Press.)

PROPOSED CONSTITUTION REFERENDUM CANCELLED AS OPPOSITION MOUNTS

Akwesasne, Mohawk Nation – In an effort to provide a legal foundation for the New York State elective council to receive federal grants and operate federal programs, a constitution has been drafted which was to be submitted to New York State-side reservation residents on July 3 under provisions of the U.S. Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. However, at the last minute, the election was called off so that "objectionable portions" of the constitution could be rewritten. Officials said it would be rescheduled later this year.

At the present time, the elected council operates under New York State law, which gives the elected chiefs only very limited powers, such as the sale of gravel, or the settling of internal land disputes. However, since 1971, the council has been the recipient of large federal grants.



The proposed constitution was characterized by the institute for the Development of Indian Law as "dangerous for everyone at Akwesasne, and especially for Longhouse people" because it gave almost "unlimited and uncontrolled power" to three elected chiefs. While the constitution provided for judges, courts, police, and jails, it failed to provide safeguards and protections to the people if those forces were abused.

SENECAS CONCLUDE AGREEMENT WITH NEW YORK STATE IN MODERN-DAY TREATY

Allegany, Seneca Nation (New York) – The Seneca Council announced in July the conclusion of an agreement with the State of New York that permits the construction of a new road through its reservation at Salmanca. Earlier, the state had threatened to expropriate the land, but a federal court order removed that possibility from the negotiations.

The Seneca Council agreed to give an easement on 795 acres of land necessary for the 16-mile section of roadway. In return, the State will pay nearly $2-million, and will receive 795 acres of land from the adjoining Allegany State Park, as well as other considerations.

Usually, the state proceeds to get highway right-of-way through expropriation. However, in 1975 U.S. District Judge John T. Curtin, following a 1974 U.S. Supreme Court decision, ruled that "in the absence of explicit authorization by a Federal statute, the State of New York has no power to apply the New York highway law to land within the Allegany Reservation."

The Seneca Nation has 6300 citizens living on Seneca Territory in the western New York state area, with other Senecas living in Ontario and Oklahoma. At the time of the War Among the Colonists, the Senecas occupied most of what is now western New York. But between 1797 and 1842, pressed by the land greed of white settlers, the Senecas were divested of 4-million acres of land for about $228,000. Land on which the City of Buffalo now stands was sold to speculators for 48½ cents an acre.

As late as 1958, Seneca land was being condemned for other purposes – in that year the Army Corps of Engineers received congressional and presidential permission to build the Kinzua Dam, which flooded Seneca land reserved forever to the Senecas by a 1794 treaty signed by George Washington.

Recently, the U.S. Indian Claims Commission awarded the Seneca Nation $5-million as compensation for a part of the lands sold at grossly undervalued prices. 80% of the funds were distributed on a per capita basis, each member receiving $771. The remaining 20% was used to set up a pension fund for those over 62 years of age.

The State Department of Transportation, in signing the new agreement, also said it "supports, encourages, and endorses" other goals, such as a waiver of license fees for motor vehicles owned by Senecas.

The land exchange has been opposed by the Sierra Club, which said that it had no objection to the Senecas obtaining "lieu lands", but it maintained those lands would have to be obtained by private purchase – the state had no legal right to include state park lands in the deal, the conservation group said.

(Thanks to Harold Faber of the New York Times for information used here.)

NEW INDIAN GROUP ESTABLISHING IN GEORGIA UNDER RED, WHITE & BLUE

Quitman, Georgia – Chief Thunderbird Webber, self-appointed "American Indian Movement leader for the Eastern States" says that he is quitting AIM because the organization has become too militant and is infiltrated by Socialists and Communists.

"That's one thing for the Indians," Webber told David Ronningen, a reporter for the *Florida Times-Union.*, "they'll stand up for the red, white and blue."

Webber, who is also an evangelist pastor and "International President of the Light of the Way Open Door Church Fellowship" has also established the United Cherokee Nation of Georgia with offices here, where he is installed as principal chief. It sponsors Indian parades and gospel sings.

WAMPANOAGS GET 227 ACRES OF LAND BACK AFTER A 37-YEAR DELAY; DEDICATION AND NIKKOMOSACHMIAWENE PLANNED FOR OCTOBER 13-17

Boston, Massachusetts – After ten months of consultation with native groups, Massachusetts Governor Michael S. Dukakis recognized the Wampanoag People's rights to a reservation in the Freetown State Forest near Fall River. The 227-acre transfer complies with a 1939 legislative bill that created the reserve as compensation for land taken by the City of Fall River at the turn of the century.

In addition, Gov. Dukakis gave formal recognition to eight native groups to "strengthen their position in applying for federal funds." They include the Mashpee Wampanoag Tribal Council, Gay Head Wampanoag Tribal Council, the Massachusetts Commission on Indian Affairs representing Wampanoags not living in Mashpee or Gay Head, the Hassanamisco Nipmuc Tribal Council, and the Boston Indian Council as liaison for the Passamaquoddy/Maliseet, Penobscot, and Micmac peoples. The orders were signed July 8.



Jake Thompson, an Oneida who directs the State's Indian Affairs Commission, said that Massachusetts native people were not recognized by federal treaties, since most land transactions preceded the United States' existence. That meant they could not qualify for federal funds, which could amount to more than $15,000,000. There are about 10,000 native persons living in Massachusetts, half of them in Boston where their unemployment is nearly 60%, annual income is under $2,000 a family, and 85% are suffering from alcoholism. Initially, the state's five tribal councils will receive a half-million dollars in revenue sharing funds.

In 1975, the Wampanoags took the State to U.S. District Court seeking the return of other lands seized in 1870 by the State. That matter is still unsettled.

The new reservation land was not exactly turned over to the Wampanoags – the fine print says the Wampanoags will "manage" the land, with the state retaining veto power. Instead of a deed, the Wampanoags are getting a "binding legal agreement".

In the early 1900s, the land was taken from the Wampanoags to protect Fall River's water supply, even though it was too far from the watershed to serve any useful purpose. In the Legislative Act of 1939, the state established the reservation and gave the power to set it up to the state Commissioner of Conservation. It took six years to get the site laid out – and 31 years before it was turned back to the Wampanoags.

However, there are still other land struggles. The Gay Head Council filed suit in August for 230 acres on Martha's Vineyard, and the Mashpee Council has a suit going for land on Cape Cod.

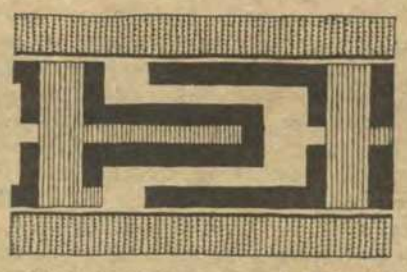
The Wampanoags will dedicate their newly-regained land with a spiritual unity conference beginning October 13 The conference will be limited to native people until the last day, October 17, when non-native persons are invited to attend the ceremonies near Fall River. The event occurs at the time of the traditional Nikkomosachmiawene, or Grand Sachem's Council Feast, marked by traditional food and games, telling of stories and legends, sacred ceremonies and councils on the affairs of the nation. It was because of this feast in 1621 that the Wampanoags had amassed the food to help the Pilgrims, creating a new tradition today known as "Thanksgiving Day" by the Pilgrim's grandchildren.

For further information, contact (617) 477-0208 or write the Wampanoag Tribal Council, Mashpee, Massachusetts.

VERMONT'S ABENAKIS SEEK DEER WHILE STATE OFFICIALS PASS THE BUCK

Montpelier, Vermont – Charging that fish and game are so plentiful they die of natural causes while Indians go hungry, Abenaki People of Vermont are pressing state officials for return of their unrestricted hunting rights.

On June 28, Homer St. Francis, newly-appointed chairman of the Abenaki Nation, presented Fish and Game Commissioner Edward Kehoe with a petition bearing 1400 signatures. It asked that state regulation of hunting and fishing be lifted. Kehoe said he would forward the petition to the governor, and said that only the state legislature could approve their demands. Earlier, Vermont Governor Thomas P. Salmon had told the native group that the question was a "fish and game department matter".



The Abenakis haven't had any of their rights recognized since Vermont was admitted to the U.S. – and before. The 1970 census showed only a few score native people living in the state, but St. Francis says that 3,000 Abenakis live in Vermont, mostly in Swanton and Highgate areas in the northwestern part of the state.

The issue began over a year ago, when Ronald Canns, director of the U.S.-financed Indian Manpower Office in St. Albans, asserted the Abenaki right to fish, and was threatened with arrest by Kehoe. Canns retorted that the Abenaki Nation would arrest Kehoe.

MOHAWK ADIRONDACK SETTLEMENT OF GANIENKEH PREPARES FOR THIRD WINTER AS NEGOTIATIONS WITH NEW YORK STATE AND FEDERAL OFFICIALS, PLUS A COURT CASE, DRIFT ALONG AMID AN UNEASY PEACE

Ganienkeh, Mohawk Nation (Eagle Bay, New York) – The 2½-year-old community of Ganienkeh, established on land in the Adirondack Park claimed by the State of New York, continued through an uneventful summer.

Ganienkeh spokesman Mike Myers charged that in an apparent effort to disturb the summer peace, Federal Bureau of Investigation agents had become involved in the dispute between the Mohawk group and the State. FBI presence became known when a recently-arrived resident of Ganienkeh was set up for an arrest by an provocateur in a nearby town. State police then arrested the man for possession of a weapon with its serial number erased, and turned him over to the FBI.

The man, 26-year-old Stoney Goeman, said that the FBI had interrogated him for five hours in their Utica office, but an FBI spokesman denied Bureau involvement. FBI Agent Louis Kelley, named by Goeman as one of the officers who questioned him, had no comment.

Goeman said he was questioned about weapons and defenses at Ganienkeh, and was shown aerial photographs of the site and asked the best way to approach it. Goeman says the FBI told him his life was "in danger" from other Ganienkeh occupants. Goeman was fined $200 and returned to Eagle Bay. State Police investigator Richard Gildersleeve confirmed Goeman's arrest and said the FBI had been "interested in him".

Myers accused the FBI of a campaign to "create division and violence within the Six Nation territory." He noted other FBI campaigns recently exposed to public notice, "similar to the disruptive tactics used against the late Rev. Martin Luther King, American Indians at Pine Ridge, and the Black Panthers."

At the moment, there is an uneasy peace and the potential for violence that State Police believe could be one of the U.S.' worst racial incidents. Experienced negotiators mediating the dispute feel the repercussions from a state attack on Ganienkeh would spread across the land.

Although negotations are moving slowly, if at all, Governor Hugh Carey has designated the New York Secretary of State as his authorized deputy for the talks. The state has a case pending in U.S. District Court, seeking to clear the "cloud" from state ownership which the Mohawk settlement has caused.

Politicians are avoiding involvement with the controversy whenever possible.

Last April, there was a meeting in Washington, D.C., of Iroquois and New York State officials where an agreement in principle was reached. There had been 121 sessions with a mediator to work out details in advance. However, the forced resignation of state Environmental Conservation Commissioner Ogden R. Reid, who was then in charge of the negotiations, brought the work to an abrupt halt. Officials in the governor's office charge that Reid's offers were in violation of the state's constituion.

Reid, however, says that while there were some "sensitive" legal areas, the settlement "would have created a whole new era of relations; it would have been equitable; it would have been supported by the people; it would have been supported by the legislature."

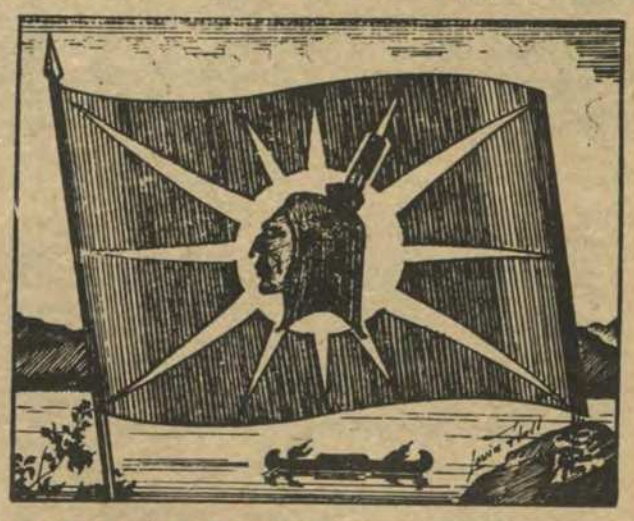
The Court Case Proceeds Slowly

Although the state Attorney General is not eager to discuss the court case, saying he didn't want to "try it in the press", Robert "Tim" Coulter, acting director of the Institute for the Development of Indian Law, feels that while it is necessary to oppose the state's suit, there is a better hope for a negotiated settlement.

"It's unlikely there will be any final decision in the courts," Coulter said. "Courts don't have any say in whether a treaty is valid or not. The state is basing their case on the Brant Treaty of 1798, and no matter how crooked that treaty is, the court has to accept it without question. The court just rubber stamps what the treaty says."

Coulter said it was wrong if the court was going "through the motions of pretending to make legal decisions." He said the U.S. and the Six Nations governments needed to sit down and hammer out a "real solution".

The State of New York began action against the individuals encamped at Ganienkeh on September 11,



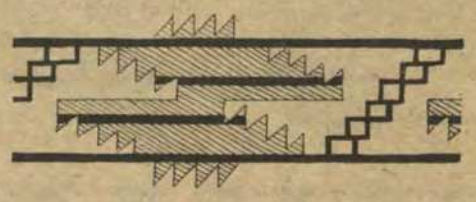
1974, in the U.S. District Court of Judge Edmund Port. He dismissed the case for lack of jurisdiction stating that an eviction was not a case for the federal courts.

However, New York State appealed that decision and on December 29, 1975, the U.S. Court of Appeals decided that the case did, in fact, belong in federal court, and allowed New York State to amend its original complaint.

Judge Port is now considering that amended complaint. The state says that the current cloud on the title was created by the individuals who occupy Ganienkeh, not by the Six Nations or the Mohawk Nation, which it does not name as a defendants. The state says it has a secure title, based on "valid treaties made under the authority or consent of the U.S."

New York wants the federal court to declare that the state is the rightful owner of the 2,404,536 acres of land ceded in the treaties, and to order the Mohawks barred from entering or re-entering any portion of the land.

The Mohawks have moved for dismissal, saying that the case does not involve them as individuals, but is, in fact, against the entire Mohawk Nation and Six Nations Confederacy, and thus the action is barred by the Doctrine of Sovereign Immunity. "The Mohawk Nation and the Six Nations Confederacy may not be sued without their consent," they state.



"The Six Nations Confereracy is a sovereign state within the meaning of international law, and has been recognized as such since prior to the founding of the United States," the defense legal brief in the case reads. "The status of foreign governments, including Indian nations, and the question of recognition of such governments, are political questions which may not be independently determined in the judiciary."

The Mohawk Nation also contends that the treaty on which New York bases its claim is itself not valid. "Joseph Brant had no authority under the Great Law of the Six Nations, Gayanerakowa, to dispose of Indian land," it says. However, the U.S. "authorized and approved the making of the treaty, knowing that Brant had no such authority and that only the governing body of the Six Nations could enter into treaties regarding the land."

Under Iroquois law, the law of the Six Nations, no person then or now can sell the land. The brief notes that "the present generation acts as custodian of the land for the children yet unborn. All land dealings with the Six Nations unquestionably require the consent of the chiefs of the Confederacy in Grand Council."

As Ganienkeh prepares for its third winter and waits for the snow, it also waits for New York State to make some sort of negotiated settlement so that they can relax and live peacefully, and so that the tension in the area which could lead to a New York State version of the Wounded Knee occupation will cool off with the winter winds.

[Thanks to the Lake Placid News of Lake Placid, New York, which devoted its entire July 22 edition to an excellent, complete, and in-depth report on Ganienkeh.]

MENOMINEE UPDATE

Neopit, Menominee Nation

On Thanksgiving morning, 1974, the town of Neopit on the Menominee Reservation, woke up to the shocking news that the local priest of St. Anthony's Church had been stabbed to death. Mark "Hub" Latender had been drinking and entered the rectory of Fr. Marcellus Cabo to rob him. The priest heard him, and entered his office. In an impulsive act of anger, Hub Latender jumped up, slashed the priest's throat, stabbed him several times, and then went to tell friends who were too stunned to believe what he said.

Marcellus Cabo was loved by some and hated by others. Some members of his parish loved him for his generosity – others regarded him as greedy and selfish. He had brought an economically-unstable church and school out of debt during his tenure from the late '50s into the '70s, an achievement which left him with the reputation of placing money on the highest priority in all affairs. Because of the whir of activity around the priest's rummage sales, bingo games and gift shop, adequate educational and recreational facilities and activities had to take second place. Basketball players recall having to vacate the gym so material for a rummage sale could be stored. People wondered how he managed to take an annual trip to Japan if money was so short.

Although many times the Menominees had petitioned the Bishop of Green Bay for the priest's removal, he was not moved, and rumors of improper advances toward the grade-school girls continued to circulate around the reservation.

The church and the priest had come to kindle an intense hatred deep in the mind of Hub Latender as he grew up on the reservation, and in a moment of alcohol-fogged impulse, it surfaced in that fateful encounter in the rectory on Thanksgiving morning.

The event was an emotional and sociological catalyst to a series of stunning events for the Menominee People throughout these last two years, the main one being the Alexian Novitiate Takeover five weeks later.

■ ■ ■

It has been almost two years now since the armed takeover of the Alexian Brother's Monastery near Gresham, Wisconsin, on January 1, 1975. The 34-day occupation of the abbey created a commotion that received world-wide attention, as did the occupation of Wounded Knee in February, 1973.

The Warriors contended that the unused Abbey would make an ideal hospital for the reservation, and besides, they said, it was on Menominee land. A group went to the abbey, seized the caretaker's family for a few hours, and moved into the abbey. Police ringed the area, and when local vigilantes threatened to start a shoot-out, the National Guard came to the scene to keep the peace. After more than a month of tense waiting, the occupation ended with the surrender of five persons the Government wanted tagged as leaders to face felony charges, and in exchange, the Warriors had an agreement signed by the Alexians turning the abbey over to the Menominees for $1 and "other valuable considerations".



Menomini Thunderbird

Those January days elicited volumes of the barely-submerged racism the people of Shawano County have long held toward the Menominees, who sent shoppers, students, and offenders into the town's institutions. In the summer of 1974, Menominees had tried, unsuccessfully, to maintain a boycott of Shawano businesses, a protest against discrimination in the schools, in the courts, and on the streets. One of the first signs of problems-to-come appeared then: the Menominee Restoration Committee, authorized by Congress as an "acting governing body", opposed the boycott and the setting up of a Menominee school district. It seemed that they had sided with Shawano business, which gained more than $1-million annually from Menominee pockets, against their own people.

In fact, the takeover of the abbey and the whole chain of events in Menominee Country involve, indirectly or directly, a conflict between a substantial number of Menominees and the Menominee Restoration Committee.

However, the two factions were united on one thing: Shawano is a racist town. During the occupation of the novitiate, Ada Deer, chairman of the MRC, admitted that one cause of the takeover was racism. "In the Shawano County courts, we Menominees do not receive equal justice. Excessively large numbers of Indians are arrested and jailed. The judges and the white man's law weigh the scales of justice against us. The juries, which seldom include Indians, convict and hand down harsh sentences because they don't understand us. We are sent to prisons in disproportionately high numbers and are then mistreated."

During the occupation of the novitiate, the racist Shawano "Concerned Citizens" were urging police to get in there and "level the place" – even if that meant a massacre of men, women, and children not unlike those of a century before. Police chief Sandy Montour was the hero of the local bigots as he sanctioned the advances of snowmobilers who rode in herds with shotguns to preserve order in his America.

Ada Deer continued: "The pressure by white citizens on our land and treaty rights is unrelenting. It is time for all tribes to examine their government structures to be certain that all tribal members are represented."

Those words have come back to haunt Ada Deer as a badly-fragmented people insist through the Warrior Society and the Menominee People's Committee that they have no voice in Menominee affairs.



Ada Deer . . . chairwoman of the Menominee Restoration Committee

The Alexian Brothers had gotten the Gresham estate free for their novitiate. It was donated to them in 1950 by the wealthy widow of a New York corporation lawyer, and had an appraised value of $750,000. The Alexian Brothers, whose assets total $49,750,973, say their purpose is aiding the poor through hospital work and education – and it was precisely a school or a hospital that the Warrior Society wanted for the Menominees.

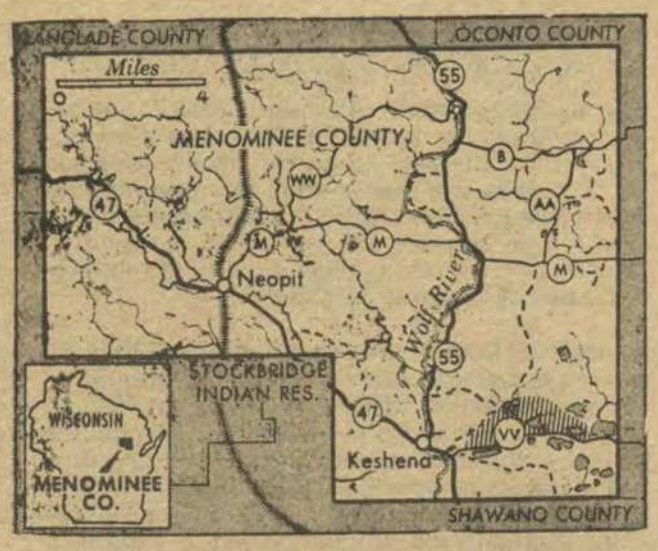
When the takeover was negotiated to a halt on February 3, 1975, the Warriors had successfully acquired a document that would hand the abbey over to the Menominee Tribe for that development. But Ada Deer and the MRC refused the deal and the novitiate, which, she said, was a "white elephant". She said the Menominees didn't have the funds necessary to convert the structure to a hospital. Besides, she said, the novitiate had been obtained "unlawfully".

However, the Warrior Society had looked at the law differently. The abbey and its 242-acre estate stood on land which the Menominees had retained in the Treaty of 1854, land which the treaty specified was to be their "permanent home". Then, in the Treaty of 1856, 39,000 acres of this land was taken by the U.S. to give to the relocated Stockbridge-Munsee People for a reservation. The 1856 treaty, the Warriors say, was illegally obtained by the U.S., and "as long as the grass grows and the rivers flow" should mean something more than just two years.

"At one time, we had 9½-million acres, much of Wisconsin," the Warrior Society said in a newsletter. Since Jean Nicolet first came to Green Bay, most of that land had been sold for pennies an acre. The occupation, they said, was no more unlawful than the many occupations which had suffered the Menominees to lose their land. On both sides, the Warriors note, the occupations were carried out under the gun.

1856 wasn't the last land cession the Menominees experienced – even in the 1970s, more was lost.

Compared to those massive land losses of the past the loss of land as a result of "Termination" was minor, but perhaps the most galling. When the 1954 Congress decided to eliminate the "Indian Problem" by eliminating the "Indians", it started termination proceedings in several areas. Because of their relative prosperity, the Menominees were singled out to begin the plan. The reservation was transferred to state jurisdiction, a county form of government was set up, and a complex corporate structure was set up to manage the Menominee assets. Under the guise of participatory democracy, the Plan was approved by 91 persons, most of whom had not read it, and might not have understood the complexities if they had been able to get a copy of the document.



According to Moon Weso of Keshena, a respected elder who was present at the meeting, Senator Arthur Watkins of Utah told the group they were voting for "land development" and would be paid $1500 if they voted "yes".

Before termination, the Menominees were fairly well off. They owned their own telephone system, electricity-generating dams, their own wood products industry, a clinic,dentist's clinic, hospital. But under termination, all that was lost. And $10-million under federal trust had dwindled to nothing.

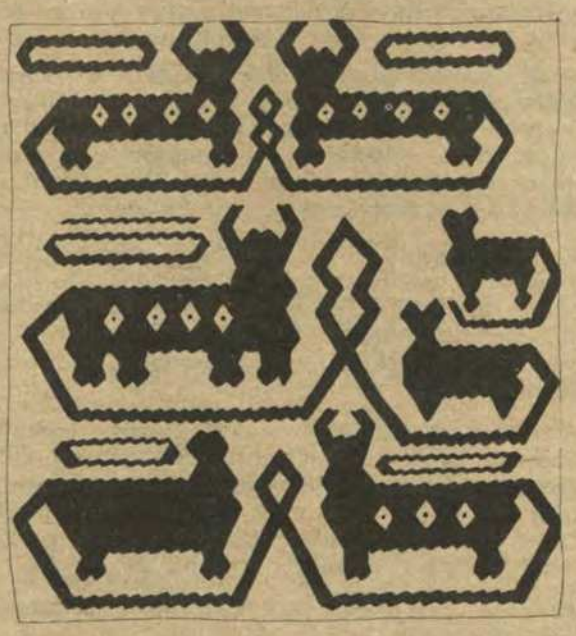
In 1967, Menominee County was in deep financial trouble. The hospital had to be closed because it lacked funds for improvements to meet standards. There was no tax base to draw in funds, and advisors suggested that the Menominees should sell off 5% of the reservation to save the other 95%. Quietly, a vote for an "Economic Development Zone" was passed, and on the strength of that, a fancy real-estate development called "Legend Lake" began to hawk off lots to monied people from the city.

Most Menominee upper school students were forced to attend the Shawano School District 8, and there were frequent complaints of racism. The schools were reprimanded by the Civil Rights Division of the U.S. Department of Justice and ordered to clean up their act in 1969. By 1974, only token improvements had been made. Thus for education, health, and justice, termination caused the Menominees to become dependent on the indifferent and often racist facilities of Shawano County. Property taxes on Menominee County were subsidizing services for Shawano County's white residents.

And in law enforcement, Menominee County supported – through the same taxes which were forcing them to sell their land – some of their worst oppressors, Shawano County's Sheriff Sandy Montour and his crew.

Finally, after a strenuous lobbying operation by Ada Deer and others, the U.S. Congress in December, 1973, passed the Menominee Restoration Act. The legislation was heralded as "federal recognition of sovereignty" and an increase in Menominee self-government.

Under the act, the tribe elected a Menominee Restoration Committee of members to proceed to install a tribal government which could begin to unravel the problems of restoration and reconstruction of tribal affairs. Ada Deer was chosen chairman of that group.



Menomini Panther

But "Restoration" seemed to have little real effect on the important grievances. The official leadership was still being accused of taking the easy way out, of setting up a colonized dependency, skimming off handouts and contracts from the U.S. Government. What good did it do to be "restored", the talk went, if it didn't mean true independence – economically, politically, and legally?

And so it was in this type of controversy and turmoil that the occupation of the abbey had taken place.

Although the dictionary defines restoration as "returning to a former state", when the Restoration Act put Menominee land back to federal trust status, Legend Lake was excluded, a loss of land now worth about $10-million. In order to get even a portion of it back and to satisfy the developer, the Restoration Committee in the summer of 1974 had to borrow $1.2-million to make the purchase, putting up land and future cash deposits as collateral. Critics of the Restoration Committee faction point out that in the Act, MRC "shall have no authority to bind the tribe for a period of more than six months after the date on which the tribal governing body takes office." That meant that the temporary MRC was not empowered to saddle the new tribal council with loans and debts.

Actually, Legend Lake had always been a source of controversy since it came into existence in 1968. Menominee activists protested against the bank which was managing their affairs, and against the busloads of prospective purchasers who came out to see if they wanted to buy off a chunk of Menominee turf.

With the protests and problems, the power of the reservation fell into the hands of an increasingly smaller group. The sawmill, the greatest economic force on the reservation, is run by persons who hold membership on the Restoration Committee, and it also controls employment in all federal and state programs. Ada Deer is not only chairman of MRC, but is chairman of the crucial Constitution and By-Laws Committee, which is to propose the type of government under which the Menominees will live for the years to come.

Silvia Wilbur is in several management positions in the sawmill enterprise, and is also a key member of the Restoration Committee. Her opponents say she was elected to the Board of Directors almost totally by absentee ballots in both 1974 and 1975 elections, in which she waged a wide proxy campaign in which, they say, the ballots were handed out freely to friends and relatives to be mailed back.

A mimeographed newsletter circulated around the reservation said that Silvia Wilbur receives $16,000 for her work on the Restoration Committee, plus $12,000 from Menominee Enterprises, and in addition draws a per diem for attending subcommittee meetings, plus expenses. "It would seem appropriate that regular accountability be made by the Restoration Committee on expenditures, particularly since this is public money," the newsletter said.

Shirley Daly is also on the MRC, and like Silvia Wilbur, is a paid official of the Menominee Tribal Enterprise where she is head of Land Use.

"We are pleased to demonstrate once again that we can work within the system," Ada Deer said. And of course, the system does help its own – she cited the "cooperation existing" between the Restoration Committee and the authorities.

The mill is the area's largest single employer, with 230 workers and a monthly payroll of $96,000. Still, unemployment figures are at the 20% mark.

Although the operation earned $236,693 in 1975 from net sales of $6,178,000, that compared with net earnings of $830,498 from sales of $8,195,000 a year earlier.

To keep Warrior Society and People's Committee critics at bay, the U.S. has made a myriad of loans and grants. One $1.1-million loan is said to have kept the Enterprise from bankruptcy – the Wipley internal audit report at the December, 1975, stockholder's meeting showed an actual gross deficit of $238,000 for the year's operation.

The sawmill received a $150,000 grant in April from the Upper Great Lakes Regional Commission, and just this fall, another $6-million grant was announced by the Economic Development Administration. Certainly the funds are needed, but it is clear they buy political strength as well as equipment. The mill was partially destroyed by fire in 1974, and mechanical problems have caused shutdowns that have resulted in high unemployment and high production costs. The first Menominee mill was built in 1908, and most of the present equipment was installed in 1927.

So that makes over $14-million the MRC has received in federal funds for sponsorship of various aid projects begun since restoration. Before termination, the prospering Menominees received only about $144,000 annually in federal assistance.

A five-person people's investigating committee elected by unanimous vote at a Menominee Tribal meeting on August 16 which was called by Restoration Committee chairwoman Ada Deer was refused access to tribal and Enterprise records. The investigating committee has since asked the American Indian Policy and Review Commission for a full review of the Menominee finances.

"Menominees want to know where all the federal funding is going – the only visible signs of its effect are upon the friends and relatives of Silvia and Shirley,"



Chevalier *Perote* *Dixon* *Sturdevant* *Waubanascum*

— Associated Press, Milwaukee Journal, and United Press photos

The Federal Government has supported the Deer-Wilbur administration, fearful that a "People's candidate" would interfere with what it has in mind for Menominee "self-determination". To keep the administration afloat, the Government has had to ignore irregularities, supply hefty loans and grants, and even permit contraventions of the law.

The Menominees even have difficulty in getting information about their affairs. To a recent request that the Bureau of Indian Affairs look into Menominee finances, the BIA responded, "We have no right to audit their records." MRC has refused to open its books to inquiring Menominees.

The U.S. has not hesitated to spend money to make the MRC look good. Although one of the main goals in the Abbey Takeover was to secure the facilities for a Menominee hospital and health facility, the Restoration Committee had said the structure would be "too expensive" to convert. With that, the Alexians reneged on their deal with the Warrior Society – and gave the facility to a non-Indian group as a donation, and the U.S. gave the Restoration Committee $1-million for a health center.

Rhoda House, a direct descendant of the famous chief Oshkosh, asserts. She feels that the process of restoring economic stability and advances to the Menominees, one of the purposes of the Restoration legislation, is being thwarted by a small group of people who are benefitting handsomely while others, particularly traditional people, are in need and the Enterprise spirals downward.

Persons who oppose the Restoration Committee feel that the Menominees are now living in a fantasy-world of economic security. The U.S. Government has to see that the Menominee establishment remains solvent in order to prove to the world that "working through the system works". And for the Restoration Committee establishment, the system does work well.

Gordon Dickie of the Menominee People's Committee wonders how long the federal aid will continue. "If we rely entirely on congressionally-appropriated money, then we are dreaming," he says. "I don't know what we will do if there is a cutback. We are kind of living on Cloud Nine now – there's no foundation under it."

Still another commonly-heard charge is that the present leadership of the complex forestry and sawmill operation is incompetent. "Now you've got two or three women that are trying to run everything," Gordon Dickie says. "They don't know pine from hemlock. We see it all the time – this tribe is further in debt today than it's ever been in its history. They've borrowed more money and owe more money than they ever have.

"I've asked the BIA to come up here and investigate, to audit those programs, find out where that money's going, how it's being spent, whether it's being spent properly. Nope – can't get a raise out of 'em. They won't do anything."

At the time of the Novitiate Takeover, there were a series of purges of MRC or MEI employees, usually eliminating persons who had not shown sufficient loyalty to the MRC or who had not shown sufficient opposition to the Warrior Society. As of May, 1975, 32 MEI employees had been sacked, plus 25 MRC workers.

Fired employees say that persons with lesser qualifications and educations are being hired, and that qualified Menominees have been replaced by non-Menominees.

Ted Boyd was controller of the Enterprises until the takeover – and then he was fired. He says the problem is that "the Menominee People want qualified and capable leadership. Further, they want and demand honesty from their leaders. They recognize that a school teacher [Silvia Wilbur] with no business background is not qualified to hold the position of President and chairman of the board of directors of MEI, a business corporation. The Menominee recognize that it takes a lumberman to effectively head up a lumber industry."

Boyd said there were problems, too, in the present political system which "does not permit a system of checks and balances upon the power of those in the power positions. This leads directly to abuse of power and oppression of the people. This is why the Menominee situation has flared up so often – a frustrated people react in the only way left open to them – dissention and active opposition. He said this was especially apparent in the Wilbur-Deer "power-house administration" which caused frustration leading to aggressiveness and extreme disunity.

As controller, Boyd said he knew the Enterprise had "diminished from a financially stable company in May & June of 1974" to a situation six months later "where it is struggling to keep its head above water."

Boyd was chairman of the People's Committee during the takeover, during which he took seven days off work without pay to aid in the negotiations – a reason cited by Silvia Wilbur as the cause of his dismissal. "If the involvement of the MPC resulted in saving just one life, all the sacrifice, including political reprisals, was worth it," Boyd notes.

The Menominee People's Committee had been formed to negotiate a peaceful settlement of the takeover.

Jim White, who had been a leader in DRUMS, the organization which spearheaded the drive against Legend Lake, says that Ada Deer now extolls as "self-determination the acts of totalitarianism she and her white lawyers have perpetrated on the Menominee People – and which she once characterized as 'despotism' in her predecessor." He said the current MRC leadership were "phoney Indians, like phoney Indian jewelry – they look good, they sound good, but both are fabricated by white technicians and the truth of their counterfeit quality is discovered after they've been sold to the trusting consumer." He said the new city-manager government would once again put the Menominee People into the hands of a business enterprise no different from the situation they just escaped. "Even one of Ada Deer's legal advisers has characterized the new constitution as 'undemocratic' and 'bordering on dictatorship'," he remarked.

The "Restoration Act" signed into law on December 22, 1973, repealed termination and restored to the Menominees those federal services ordinary to a "federally-recognized tribe". The Act mandated an "interim" transition phase between terminated status and restoration in which the "interim governing board" – the Menominee Restoration Committee – was set up to update the rolls of members, transfer Menominee assets into federal trust, and to draw up a constitution and by-laws to be adopted by the Menominees in a referendum. Then, the interim group was to conduct an election under the new constitution for the new governing council.

(continued on next page)



According to the Act, the function of the Restoration Committee is to "represent the Menominee people in the implementation of this Act," and "it shall have no powers other than those given to it in accordance with this Act." The Secretary of Interior and HEW were authorized to appropriate funds "upon the request of the tribe".

Menominees who question the authority of the MRC recently filed a complaint in U.S. District Court in a class-action suit. It alleges that Ada Deer and other defendants have kept themselves in power by delaying the adoption of a constitution and by-laws. MRC and the Board of Directors of Menominee Enterprises are also charged with failing to act in some instances, and exceeding the scope of their duties listed in the Menominee Restoration Act.

"The Restoration Committee is using the restoration process as a tool for consolidating its power," the Menominee Legal Defense/Offense Committee charges. Noting that MRC describes itself as "tribal leadership," the group filing suit points out that the only legally sanctioned function of MRC is the preparation of an election of a true tribal government. That process would include updating tribal rolls, preparing the draft of a constitution and by-laws, and conducting a referendum.

The constitution which is in preparation is for a city-manager form of government, rather than a traditional general council as some Menominees had hoped for. A group known as the Menominee People's Committee says that "the tribe is also being subjected to a Restoration Committee-generated wave of propaganda concerning the merits of the Indian Reorganization Act." The Menominees rejected organization under this act 40 years ago.

The federal suit also asks for an interim order setting the tribe up as a General Council to check the powers of MRC, that they have a choice of form of government, and whether they will organize under IRA.

Gordon Dickie explains the system of government the Menominees had before termination. "Now I served as chairman of the Advisory Council prior to termination for several terms — we could handle the everyday business, general business went before the General Council," Dickie explains. "We posted a ten-day notice for a General Council, listing the order of business. Every adult Menominee had a perfect right to attend that General Council. They had a right to speak on the subject. By the time we hashed it back and forth, the Councils lasted as long as three days. The final vote was the vote that ruled." A meeting could also be called by petition of 250 signers, he said.

"This, I believe, is one of the secrets why we did not have the turmoil we have now — people had the opportunity to get it off their chest," Dickie opines. "Even when the people gave me hell, I was learning — that's what these people [Restoration Committee] haven't learned. 'It's got to be my way or nobody's way.' This is their attitude."

Ironically, the Restoration Committee says the General Council system wasn't democratic and didn't allow the Menominees "to exercise any powers of self-government."

Dickie said under the General Council system, the Advisory Council had budgetary hearings to work out finances, which were then passed to the General Council for approval. "When I was chairman, the head of every department had to come in, wherever he worked. We'd recommend a budget to the General Council, and they'd go after that budget hammer-and-tong. I think it created a much better control over expenditures. Boy, they were awfully careful with every dime they spent, because they knew they'd have to come back to the General Council and explain every cent.

Next November 2, there is to be an election for "tribal sheriff". Paddo Fish is the controversial incumbent, and William Waukau and George Tourtillott are the two challengers. Waukau is a People's Committee candidate, while Fish is a favorite of the Restoration group.

Paddo Fish, was elected in 1974, largely on the strength of a wide Restoration Committee proxy campaign. Fish had been appointed by state governor Patrick Lucey on the recommendation of the Restoration Committee after it had pressured Wilmer Peters to resign because he refused to side with Sheriff Montour of Shawano during the takeover.

With the dissatisfactions over tribal government and general tension on the increase, there were several violent situations. This led to increased beefing up of MRC-backed Menominee sheriff Kenneth Fish, who himself was named in numerous complaints that he had been drunk and waving his weapon around. All this came to a head February 3, 1976, a year after the occupation ended, when Fish shot and killed John Waubanascum and Arlin Pamanet at Waubanascum's home. Waubanascum was one of the five persons facing felony charges in the abbey occupation.

Their deaths sparked widespread protests and brought several hundred Menominees and supporters to the state capital to demand that the governor remove the sheriff. The sheriff still remains in office, however.

Fish works with the "Law and Order Committee", whom he has deputized to form a 60-person squad of men for the tiny community. All are loyal to the Restoration Committee faction, which pays them well with CETA and other federal funds. His deputy squad has created a controversy because many of its members are ex-felons prohibited by Wisconsin law from appointment as a deputy.

If the sheriff's election campaign doesn't prove eventful, there is the annual stockholder's meeting for the Menominee Tribal Enterprise to be held in December, followed with the elections of a tribal governing board at the beginning of 1977. The Restoration Committee has been advocating a city-manager type government, a plan the People's Committee say is only a thinly-disguised way for the present powers-that-be to remain in power.

The Abbey Takeover Trial of Mike Sturdevant

There were five Warriors charged as "responsible for the takeover. John Perote received a five-year sentence. Doreen Dixon was placed on probation. John Waubanascum was killed by Sheriff Fish just before his trial. Robert Chevalier remains free after not showing up for his trial. And Mike Sturdevant — known as "The General" — received eight years in the penitentiary for his effort to do something for the Menominee People.

Sturdevant's trial began on April 1, after Judge Henry Gergen denied a motion for postponement. A key issue in the trial was the role of Government provocation and informants. The defense maintained that the FBI knew beforehand of plans to occupy the abbey, and sought to entrap Sturdevant. Douglass Durham, who later admitted to being an FBI informant, held a leadership position in the American Indian Movement, and was present during the occupation of the abbey. Durham has boasted that the takeover was planned in his office, and that he had informed the FBI of it.

The FBI, however, said it had no advance knowledge of the takeover — but the defense found that agents had interviewed the caretaker of the 262-acre property before the takeover to warn that the novitiate might be subject to takeover by native people. Also, the defense said that during the occupation, the National Guard sought to locate photographs of the interior of the novitiate that had been taken by the FBI in November, 1974, in preparing for the takeover.

Sturdevant's defense was denied access to U.S. records which they believed would have documented the Government's role. On orders from U.S. Attorney General Edward Levi, a subpoenaed FBI agent refused to discuss the agency's advance knowledge of the takeover. The FBI maintained that the U.S. Government can instruct it to withhold information from a state court.

Sturdevant also wanted the testimony of Ed Krueger, the Shawano County clerk of courts to testify on plea bargaining of former co-defendant John Perote, who pleaded guilty to reduced charges. When that motion was also denied, Sturdevant just rested his case without calling a single witness. "In view of the fact we can't call the witnesses we want, the defense rests," he said. Defense attorney Robert Storck then moved that the jury return a verdict of innocent, saying that the state had not proven a conspiracy, and had not established that any of the crimes occurred in the State of Wisconsin, referring to the sovereign status of Menominee Nation land.



Storck also maintained that since the FBI had advance knowledge concerning the takeover, that subsequent arrests involved entrapment. A source "on the fringe of the American Indian Movement" had told FBI agent Eugene Murphy in November, 1974, about the possibility of an occupation, and the FBI had been in contact with the novitiate custodian.

Throughout the three-week trial, the state maintained that Sturdevant was the leader of the 34-day occupation and therefore responsible for any "illegal act" that occurred on the first night of the occupation. Sturdevant was convicted of holding hostages and burglarizing the caretaker' s home at the monastary on the first night, although the state presented no evidence that Sturdevant himself committed any of these acts. Instead, the state asserted the existence of a Sturdevant-led "conspiracy"

"I see only a conspiracy between the prosecution and the government to bring me here," Sturdevant said. He told the jury that witnesses described the takeover as "mass confusion". "I conspired to that?" Sturdevant asked.

According to members of the Menominee Warrior Society, the possibility of a takeover had been discussed, but never really planned. Instead, they say, it was a spontaneous event resulting from frustration with the intolerable circumstances in the Menominee Nation. In the din of New Year's Eve's confusion and lack of inhibition, it finally happened.

Judge Henry Gergen refused to acknowledge that there were any political aspects to the trial — it was just an ordinary criminal affair, as he saw it. Yet he had ordered his rural Dodge County courtroom to be heavily guarded by police . Gergen had, at the last minute, turned down any hearing on the treaty issue, despite the fact that the Warriors' Society believed they were vindicating their treaty rights by repossessing the abbey, despite the central role of the treaty law in the defense, and despite nearly a year of intensive work preparing for the treaty hearing which Gergen had previously said he would allow.

Arlin Pamanet wrote shortly before he was killed, that the felony charges against the five defendants "do not relate to the repossession [of the abbey] but to the alleged events in the caretaker's cottage on New Year's Eve night. In effect, the state is saying the warriors occupied the novitiate in order to 'falsely imprison,' rob, burglarize, and intimidate the custodian and his family. These charges cover up the political nature of the abbey's repossession."

The custodian, Joseph Plonka, and his family were released within 2½ hours of the takeover, unharmed — and for this Michael Sturdevant is doing eight years and John Perote five years in the Waupun State Penitentiary.

Sturdevant's jury consisted of eight white women and four white men.

Before Sturdevant was sentenced, Colonel Hugh Simonson of the National Guard, the officer in charge of the massive force which came to keep the white people of the area from touching off a bloody battle, told Judge Gergen that Sturdevant had a "calming influence" during the occupation, and that "it was through him that there was no bloodshed at the novitiate." He added that Sturdevant "had nothing to gain personally" from the occupation. He wanted only "to bring the plight of Native Americans forward, for education, health, and to provide meaningful jobs," the officer said.

The SWAT Squad Visits Chevaliers

The fifth defendant, Robert "Quil" Chevalier, is a fugitive. In a written notice to the court,he gave his reasons for refusing to appear. He said the state court "does not have jurisdiction [over native peoples],", that he is "not guilty of any crimes," that his court-appointed attorney "never discussed or showed interest" in his case, that a promised treaty hearing was never held, and that "the Justice Department that is to see that I am justly dealt with is the same one which condoned the murders of John Waubanascum and Arlin Pamanet."

When Quil Chevalier didn't show up for his trial, 50 SWAT-style FBI agents surrounded and stormed his mother's home in the reservation village of Neopit, but they did not find Quil. With no search warrant, they broke into the house, knocked a pregnant woman down the steps, tore the house apart, and arrested Quil's brothers, Buddy and Donald, who had asked to see a search warrant.

During the seige, Mrs. Chevalier had called the *Milwaukee Journal* and tearfully said, "They're going to ambush us. They're going to kill us all. It's what they want, what the Government wants." She said her son had not appeared for trial because the previous evening, his court-appointed attorney, Carroll Callahan, telephoned him and asked him to enter a guilty plea to a number of reduced charges. Mrs. Chevalier said Callahan had told her son that he had no defense to offer if Chevalier insisted on going to trial.

The series of events began Sunday evening when deputies say they spotted Chevalier in a nearby resort-tavern. At about 11 p.m., deputies surrounded the Chevalier house. Sheriff Fish denied having given the orders for the seige. Chief Deputy James Tourtillott, under instructions from the FBI, called off the stakeout at 2 a.m.

Then, about 6 a.m., 50 deputies surrounded the house again, blocking the road leading to the house and putting up roadblocks on roads leading into the small village of Neopit. About 9:15, the FBI's SWAT squad arrived. The FBI admitted to having only 15 men at the scene, but the sheriff's department officially said that 50 to 70 FBI men were present.

The SWAT raid was similar to "search-and-destroy" missions carried out by the FBI at Pine Ridge. During the raid, phone service into Neopit or Keshena was virtually non-existent because of some seemingly deliberate cut off of service.

— Gary Boyd
Menominee Nation

In the middle of April, the Cochiti people announced it would not participate in the dedication of the dam scheduled for June, saying the activities would be too much for them to handle.

However, members of the Pueblo say that because of the feeling about the shrine and the attitude towards the development around the dam, the dedication was cancelled to avoid a confrontation.

Steve Charnas, attorney for Great Western, says "people here are much relieved that there won't be a dedication. In discussing this, the prospect of a large dedication was something people feared. We are all happier that things will continue happening quietly."

Charnas says Cochiti City is proceeding as planned. He admits the economic crisis has slowed down construction, but the lot sales are still strong with approximately 45% of the lots now sold. One hundred homes have now been either completed or are under construction, with 180 persons now citizens of Cochiti Lake City.

One Cochiti says that "when that new guy took over, building came to a standstill."

But Charnas says it is only a "slow-down" – "the Hunts are taking a long hard look at the company. They are just finding out the facts and evaluating plans."

As one of the five appointed members of the Cochiti City Council, Charnas sees "no signs of unhappiness with the Cochiti project – people are not fleeing the project."

He says the new residents – potentially all 40,000 of them – want to make a go of the relationship with the 350 Cochiti people. "They are proud of being part of something different, something really special. It is not just another subdivision. It's exciting and terribly interesting."

Charnas takes exception to critics who claim that the U.S. and big corporations are taking advantage of the Cochiti poverty and inexperience. "There are people at Cochiti who have gotten a lot of experience in a very short period of time. They are well experienced to deal with us. And they are no longer poor."

The Cochitis have certainly experienced much in a short period of time. They have seen 4,000 acres of their Pueblo flooded in a land that for centuries has been without water. They have seen the "making of a seven-day weekend" from the inside, as the maids and maintenance men of ranch estates in the pueblo's back yard.

In the six years they have been "partners" to the building of this Great Western City, the management and planners have changed three times. One group had a record of fraud, another played with its subsidiaries like an amateur juggler, and the present management is the top of the line in American tycoons, with no experience in city building. And possibly within weeks, there will be a new set of white men planning a city bearing the ancient Cochiti name.

It's hard to predict exactly what will happen to Cochiti Lake City. With the economy slowing down, and Indian consciousness rising and resulting in take-overs all across the U.S., the City of the Future may already be a thing of the past.

Tesuque Fights Off Development

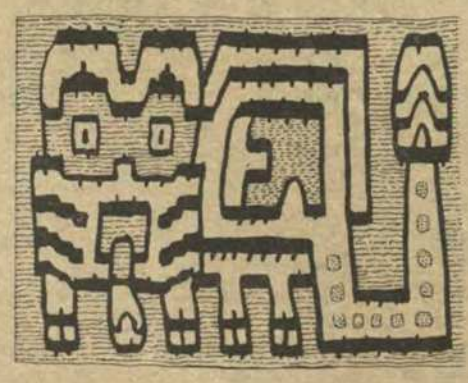
Meanwhile, to the north at Tesuque Pueblo, awareness about the meaning of the 47-page lease which members had been encouraged by the BIA to sign in 1970 had increased to the point that the Tesuque Pueblo Council in August demanded an end to the 99-year contract.

Tesuque Governor Joe E. Duran and Lt. Gov. Paul Swazo announced at a news conference August 5 that it considered the lease as "null and void as if it had never existed". "The Pueblo of Tesuque has not realized the economic benefits which were promised at the beginning of the project," the council said in its resolution. "The Pueblo of Tesuque, in fact, has suffered political and social disharmony from the problems involved in the Colonias de Santa Fe development."

Developers, debtors, and those who bought lots are hoping that the U.S. Government will bail them out financially, perhaps totalling as much as $1-million. The Pueblo itself is owed about $50,000 by the development, an amount that won't even cover the erosion and other damage that has occurred on the 5,400 acres of pueblo lands on which a resort city was to have been built. However, not one home was ever constructed.

The Colonias de Santa Fe site sat idle month after month while a never-ending chain of maneuvers passed the company from one owner to the next. The scheme had planned a $75-million "middle class and upper middle-class" community which would occupy one-third of the pueblo land. The development was to have included a country club, stores, and a mobile home park.

The pueblo finally understood that even after 99 years, all that wasn't going to just move away.



Sangre de Cristo entered into a marketing contract with Spectrum Enterprises Ltd. for lot sales of Tesuque land. Spectrum has been cited as a "front" for interests of Ned Warren of Phoenix, a man euphemistically described as a "shadowy figure in the land promotion business". He is also known as Nathan Waxman, who has often been arrested and at least twice convicted on fraud-related matters.

***The Arizona Republic* has openly repeated law enforcement allegations that Warren "is a 'godfather' of an Arizona crime 'family'." His major claims to fame entailed the complex bankruptcies of Western Growth Capital Corp. and Great Southwest Land and Cattle Company.**

A year ago, *Seer's Catalog,* an alternate Albuquerque newspaper, queried the BIA's Washington headquarters about the possible involvement of organized crime at Tesuque. "While the BIA took a long hard look at the original contract between Sangre de Cristo and Tesuque Pueblo, subsequent sub-contracts and dealings were primarily the business of the pueblo and prime developer," was the official BIA disclaimer.

Not only have a good many pueblo members been against the project, but it has drawn the wrath of the state attorney general and numerous state agencies, as well as several citizens' environmental groups.

The whole idea began in 1966 when the Bureau of Indian Affairs let out two economic development feasibility contracts to an Albuquerque research development firm, Kirschner Associates, Inc. It proposed that a "housing area principally to serve the expanding population of Santa Fe be situated near the highway." A small lake would be transformed into a "recreation area for fishing, camping, and picnicking."

Shortly afterwards, a group of New Mexico politicians formed the Sangre de Cristo Development Corporation to magically make the development scheme come true. Key New Mexico congressmen hustled through legislation extending the limit on leases at Tesuque from 25 years to 99 years, and then the congressional delegation began to hound the BIA to issue the lease to Sangre de Cristo.

Despite clauses forbidding transfer of the lease without pueblo permission, it has been sold and traded often. But the BIA refused to consider it invalid. It is certain that the lease was approved on April 17, 1970, without complying with provisions of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969.

Gerald Wilkinson of the National Indian Youth Council has called for a Senate investigation on the BIA's refusal to become involved with the people doing business with trust land bases.

The lease the BIA approved was extremely favorable to the developers. If minerals had been found on the land, the Pueblo could not exploit them without permission of the developers. Sand and gravel could be used by the developers free of charge to create an 18-hole golf course and all necessary roads. The developers could drill water wells – as valuable as oil in the Southwest – and could use up to 450-acre-feet of water a year, and individual homeowners could drill as many additional wells as they wished. Unofficial estimates of the free water in the lease ran between $500,000 and $1-million.

BIA officials claimed that the congressmen who pressured them were in turn responding "to their Indian constituents." Senator Montoya, they said, was "concerned". "He didn't want to see it fouled up – he wanted us to put our best foot forward and not to bungle it." The same officials concede that the Cochiti and Tesuque leases were "shockers".

Under the terms of the now null-and-void lease, Tesuque Pueblo was to have been paid on a percentage basis arising from subleasing. There was the potential of keeping the lease alive in such a way that little money would have been paid for the use of the land.

The original investors in the scheme seem to be the only winners in the situation. They were the ones who made the pie-in-the-sky promises to pueblo, land purchasers, and suppliers, and then got out from under the liability of having to pay back debts when the project was sold to its present owners.

[Thanks to Tom Barry of Seer's Catalog and Richard LaCourse of the American Indian Press Association News Service in the Southwest for information used here.]

[Thanks to Merilee Dannemann of the Taos News for information.]

PROGRESSIVES FAIL IN COURT BID TO EXTEND ELECTRICAL SERVICE AT TAOS

Taos Pueblo (New Mexico) – A lawsuit brought by progressive members of the ancient pueblo here demanding that electrical service be extended in areas of the pueblo from which it is now prohibited by the pueblo council has been dismissed by U.S. District Court Judge Edwin L. Mechem in a June 30 decision.

The electricity issue has been one aspect of a long-running battle between the "People's Committee of Taos Pueblo" and the traditional council. The group was formed in 1972. A year later, it presented a letter to U.S. Representative Manuel Lujan, Jr., calling the pueblo council "tyrannical in practice and oppressive towards its subjects," and describing the pueblo government as "an antiquated system of rule by custom and tradition which is against the Constitution of the United States."

The first incursion of electric lines in the pueblo occurred in the 1930s. The council cited religious reasons for denying the Bureau of Indian Affairs permission to install a line to the BIA day school, but they submitted to the BIA request when the U.S. threatened to send the Taos children to boarding schools distant from the pueblo. A few families residing near the day school made unauthorized connections to the BIA line, and eventually, the council had to permit electricity in that one area of the pueblo. However, the Eastern zone of the pueblo, where the walled village is, is without "modern conveniences".



The court said the interpretation of Pueblo religious feeling was a "tribal affair", and that it was "inappropriate to call upon a civil tribunal to determine the religious significance of electricity."

CLEMENCY CAMPAIGN MOUNTING FOR DACAJEWIAH, ATTICA DEFENDANT

Stormville, New York – Dacajewiah, also known as John Hill, also known as 21947, a survivor of the seige on Attica Prison, is incarcerated at Greenhaven Prison here. Supporters of his legal battle against charges arising from the Attica scene are now banking on pardon or executive clemency from New York Governor Hugh Carey to gain his freedom.

Of all the prisoners charged after Attica was stormed by state troopers, only Dacajewiah and Charlie Joe Pernasacile, another native man, are doing time. The others either had charges dropped or were found innocent as a result of massive irregularities in the prosecution and investigations.

"Between the original indictment and trial, I started growing. I was free for 18 months, trying to help



Attica Defense and Kunstler. I started to travel around a lot. My consciousness was mainly political," Dacajewiah says of himself. "The traditionals were watching whether I would transcend the purely political trip. I started going to the Long House. I went to Ganienkeh. Back to my roots. The inner fire was started. My eyes saw more reality – what spirit meant and what a society like Ganienkeh had to say about a new start and life in harmony."

Persons supporting the effort to obtain clemency or pardon for Dacajewiah should write:

Governor Hugh Carey
State of New York
Albany, N.Y. 12201

Dacajewiah can be reached by writing:

John Hill 21947
Greenhaven Prison
Stormville, New York

ALASKA



Anchorage, Alaska

Complications in making the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act operational are arousing the ire and concern of native people of Alaska. Among the problems are grave environmental dangers from the new oil pipeline, and a marked lag in turning over to native people the land which was promised to them.

And a new danger is threatening – offshore oil production in the Arctic. The Beaufort Sea is believed to have an extremely oil-rich continental shelf, equal, perhaps, to the Prudhoe Bay oil field.

Eben Hopson, mayor of the Inuit community of North Slope Borough, says that "the problem is that there is no known technology able to withstand the force of the Arctic ice pack. I have been advised it could take as long as two years to stop a blowout, and that there would be no way to clean up or contain an oil spill under the ice in the Beaufort Sea."

Despite the dangers involved, the oil industry has gained permission from the Canadian Government to start deep-water drilling operations 40 miles offshore in the Mackenzie Bay of the Beaufort Sea. A drilling permit was given to Dome Petroleum on April 15. The danger will be to native people throughout the Arctic – "we are downstream from the clockwise Beaufort gyre, a strong spiral current that would foul our beaches with oil spilled in Canadian waters," Hopson notes.

On the pipeline scene, U.S. House of Representative hearings held June 21 heard testimony from Peter Kelley, a pipeline worker, who reported there were at least 3,955 faulty welds along the 800-mile pipeline. He said records of these welds had been falsified to cover up the problem. A number of the faulty welds are in environmentally sensitive areas, such as beneath rivers, or buried deep in permafrost.

Alyeska, the company constructing the pipeline, may be forced to rebuild more than half of the already-completed 211 elevated wildlife passes because they do not satisfy the minimum 10-foot height requirement. Also, during water pressure tests conducted in July, a seven-foot section of the pipeline split apart under 187-pounds/square inch of pressure – yet when oil begins to flow through the line, the average pressure will be 1,180 p/si.

In light of these difficulties, U.S. President Gerald Ford has dispatched a fact-finding team, headed by Transportation Undersecretary John Barnum, to Alaska to assess the cost increases and time delays. Digging up and repairing the faulty welds will run at least $55-million. The original estimated cost of the pipeline was $900-million, but already, costs have exceeded $7.7-billion.

Alyeska Pipeline Service is a consortium of seven oil firms: British Petroleum, Atlantic Richfield, Exxon, Mobil, Union Oil, Phillips Petroleum, and Amerada-Hess.

The euphoria which welcomed the pipeline when it was first announced is rapidly vaporizing. The shift can be seen in small communities like Yakutat, which has the only sheltered deepwater harbor along more than 300 miles of the rugged and stormy Gulf of Alaska coastline. The Shell-Arco-Mobil combine, known as SAM, already has established a small shore base in Monti Bay, but plans for further expansion appear blocked for the time being since the owners of the remaining waterfront property is the local native village corporation, Yak Tat Kwaan, Inc.

"Our goal is to hold the development to a bare minimum and keep the transients out of town," says Kwaan president Sam L. Demmert. His views are opposed by Frank Ryman, a non-native businessman who fears the oil money will move to Cordova in Prince William Sound.

Delays in Natives Getting Land

Although the native people were promised they would be able to retain 40 million acres of their own land, many groups have been waiting since 1971 and the issuing of title is still delayed. At the root of the problem is environmental concerns in the U.S. Government's selections of lands for national wildlife preserves, parks, and forests.

When Shee Atika, the Sitka native corporation formed under the Land Settlement Act, made its land selection, it was blocked by a powerful coalition of the Sierra Club, the Interior Department's Bureau of Land Management, and the State of Alaska.

The Sitka primary land selection is Admiralty Island. Robert Carroll, secretary of the corporation, told Senator Mike Gravel in July that the Native Claims Settlement Act specified that "settlement should be accomplished rapidly, with certainty, in conformity with the real economic and social needs of natives, without litigation, with maximum participation by natives in decisions affecting their rights and property."

Thousands of Trespass Cases Pending

Controversy is also raging in Alaska over a 1973 U.S. federal court decision that grants native Alaskan peoples the right to claim damages in trespass suits against companies that operated on their lands prior to the passing of the Alaska Native Claims Act in 1971.

Last year, the U.S. Department of Interior filed a trespass suit on behalf of Inuit groups. 126 companies, including Alyeska Pipeline Service Company, and a dozen other major oil firms, could be tagged with multi-million-dollar judgments. There could be as many as 2500 separate cases of trespass involved, a number guaranteed to clog the federal court in Anchorage.

The defending corporations hope to short-circuit the suits by having the U.S. Congress pass legislation closing what they say is a loophole in the claims settlement laws. Senator Ted Stevens, an Alaskan Republican, has proposed such an amendment already.

Before 1971, 90% of Alaskan lands were under native claim. In 1971, the U.S. Congress took those lands away from native peoples, then gave back 40-million acres in deeded land, plus the promise of $962-million, most of it in the form of royalties from oil which would flow South through the pipeline. Part of the intent of the act was to block native people from taking corporations to court for having walked all over their lands for years before they had the right to do so, but in 1973, U.S. District Court Judge Oliver Gasch ruled in favor of Charlie Edwardson, Jr., also known as Etok, and against the Secretary of Interior.

Because of damage done by the geological, oil, airline, tug and barge, drilling and construction companies, Edwardson had wanted to sue, but the Interior Department refused to allow the action. However, Judge Gasch ordered the Justice Department and the Interior Department to draw up a suit against such firms as Atlantic Richfield, British Petroleum, Gulf Oil, Mobil and Exxon for damages involving trespass on 56.6-million acres of the North Slope.

Oil firms are worried that the suit will allow a dangerous precedent. If they are found guilty for damage to the land before 1971, it could make them liable for potentially enormous damages now that actual oil exploitation has begun. Senator Stevens' bill would protect oil companies from such liability, and would prohibit natives from collecting for just damages.

Edwardson had charged that the Interior Department had been derelict in its responsibility to native peoples by permitting the state and oil and gas firms access to native lands in the first place. While his action concerned only the North Slope, it is likely that the Interior Department will have the same legal obligation to bring actions for trespass throughout Alaska. "This decision places every inch of land in non-federal ownership or occupied under federal lease in jeopardy," Senator Stevens complains, taking the oil industry's viewpoint.

While Senator Stevens may forgive them their trespasses, many of the firms profited greatly trespassing. $1.3-billion worth of mineral resources had been extracted from Alaskan native lands by 1968 – without any payment to native peoples. Additional riches were gained through forestry and fishing.

While the oil boom has already made millionaires out of some businessmen in Alaska, most ordinary folk are dismayed at the rising prices, crime and disorder. "I was born here, but my husband and I want to leave now," said one resident, Mrs. Carol Fun. "This used to be a nice small town, but it's so you are afraid to take your children downtown. There are prostitutes all over the place. You've got knifings and muggings and burglaries. These people from the outside are littering up our outdoors because they know they're not going to stay."

Her comments, which could have been spoken a century ago by Alaskan natives watching the new European settlers, reinforce the opinion that native people are a barometer for America's future. People who invaded and ran off the native population will themselves be invaded.

The pipeline has caused severe housing shortages, overcrowded schools and roads, saturated public utilities, increased pollution. "Alyeska Go Home", bumper stickers say on some vehicles.

Tensions between two groups – workers from Texas and Oklahoma still wearing cowboy boots in the northern cold, and native people of Alaska – often erupt into fights.

As it was during the California Gold Rush, perhaps the saddest stories are those of native women who turn to prostitution in exchange for survival when rampant development ruins the natural economy, and rampant inflation makes store-bought goods prohibitive.

The crime and decline didn't just drift in. A former U.S. Attorney and an Alaskan politician were among nine persons indicted in July in an alleged scheme to set up gambling and prostitution operations near the pipeline terminal at Valdez.

Social dissolution also hits the white Alaskans in whom the land had developed a life-style of friendliness, interdependence, and tolerance. That too is eroding as development by their countrymen from the South takes over – small children are being abandoned in shabby hovels in sub-zero weather, for instance, and the statistics of social breakdown are building up.

For many native people, it has been impossible to keep that cake and eat it too. The departure of people from the villages to jobs on the pipeline has led to increased crime, broken marriages, child neglect, and a decline in the natural way of living. Even as far north as Barrow on the North Slope, the tiny town of 2,300 – all but 100 of whom are Inuit – is becoming a minature Los Angeles. People are abandoning traditional dwellings to move into small boxy homes costing $45,000 in a subdivision.

As the swath cut for the pipeline finds more and more gravel roads cut towards it, native people are struggling to keep hordes of hunters and tourists off their lands. Companies are petitioning the Alaska Transportation Commission for permits to run tour buses right up to the North Slope, and the Interior Department's Bureau of Land Management – the Bureau of Indian Affairs' daddy – has circulated a "multiple use" plan to pave the way for free access for private cars and other vehicles. Involved are some of the last untouched wildlife habitats in North America.

Inuit hunters say that already there are more native hunters than the land can support, even without sportsmen. The loss of the animals by increased hunting will drive even more Inuit into the cities, they say.



More programs are in the wind. The Interior Department commissioned a $250,000 study in July to study the possibility of strip mining the Arctic slopes for coal. Then there are other pipelines being proposed, including one to bring natural gas from Prudhoe Bay. One group wants the gas to move through Alaska across the Brooks Range, and another wants to violate native lands in the Mackenzie River Valley of Canada.

If the Alaskan route is followed, 130 miles of the Arctic National Wildlife Range will be disturbed – it is the only part of the North Slope that has not already been invaded by energy-seekers. Pipelines are not just pipe – they also mean air-strips, communications facilities, gravel pits, compressor stations, helicopter landing pads, wharves.

The stage for the exploitation of Alaska via colonization had been set years ago. In 1867, the U.S. bought the territory known as Alaska from Russia for $7,200,000 in a transaction between two colonial powers. It was a purchase of potential sovereignty, for the native people continued to have valid claim to the land.

In 1884, the U.S. Congress passed the Organic Act to set up a civil government in Alaska, and to explore the manner in which the colonization would proceed. As the Native American Rights Fund points out, "Colonialism has one purpose – the acquisition of wealth and political power for the invader. Of necessity, it then follows that the native population must lose wealth and power. Sometimes the process of penetration followed by the transfer of wealth and power occurs rapidly, sometimes it happens slowly – but it is always brutal."

[Thanks to Not Man Apart, a publication of Friends of the Earth; Robert Lindsey of the New York Times, Peter Bernstein writing for the Syracuse Herald-American, Associated Press, Harold Govett of the American Indian Party, Reuters, and "People & Energy", a newsletter on citizen action on energy published at 1757 S St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20009, for information used here.]

War In The Philippines – 40,000 Native People Dead

■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■

[This article is adapted and expanded from one sent to AKWESASNE NOTES by a writer who spent six months in the Republic of the Philippines compiling an eyewitness report on the war in which a reported 40,000 native people of the southern island of Mindanao have died and 500,000 rendered homeless since 1971. That writer, who must remain anonymous, was behind the lines with the Bangsa Moro Forces of the Moro National Liberation Front, which claims the support of 5 million of Mindanao's 8-million population. The article is published here with the cooperation of the Pacific Sunday News. *"I'm sure my Indian brothers and sisters will relate to it," the writer said in a letter. "Indeed, their own history is being repeated. But the Moros have taken a lesson from the Indians and are fighting back – and winning."]*

■

Lanao, Mindanao, Philippines – As dawn began to show light, a single file of heavily-armed men emerged from the jungle, skirting a tiny thatched farmhouse. An invitation was extended from the old farmer inspecting his copra, and the rebels followed their commander into the shelter of the old man's hut. Water to wash and steaming hot native coffee is offered. Cradling their armalites, carbines and rifles between their knees while stripping an assortment of sweatshirts and army-surplus jackets, the teenaged youths and their leader, in his 20s, broke into a quiet discussion of the revolution they are fighting.

Soon, several of the youths excuse themselves to pray, kneeling on the floor, facing East to Mecca. This discipline is practiced five times daily by the devoutly religious Moslems who comprise the majority of the Moro National Liberation Front's [MNLF] Bangsa Moro Army [BMA].

Like the old man offering hospitality in his hut, the entire countryside in the three areas in which the BMA operate – Moslems, Christians, Chinese, and hill tribes who follow the Old Ways alike – are supporting the revolution. Civilians freely offered their homes, food, and use of vehicles and boats. Many of the rebels' firearms have been donated by civilians, who take every opportunity to purchase them from government soldiers.

The MNLF – perhaps 22,000 persons strong – enjoys mass support for the justness of its cause. Its disciplined soldiers sharply contrast the arrogant and corrupt Government troops who constantly commit abuses on the innocent civilians.

The 33,286 square-miles of small islands, seacoast and lush tropical forest areas which support the MNLF make up about 50 percent of the southern half of the Philippines.



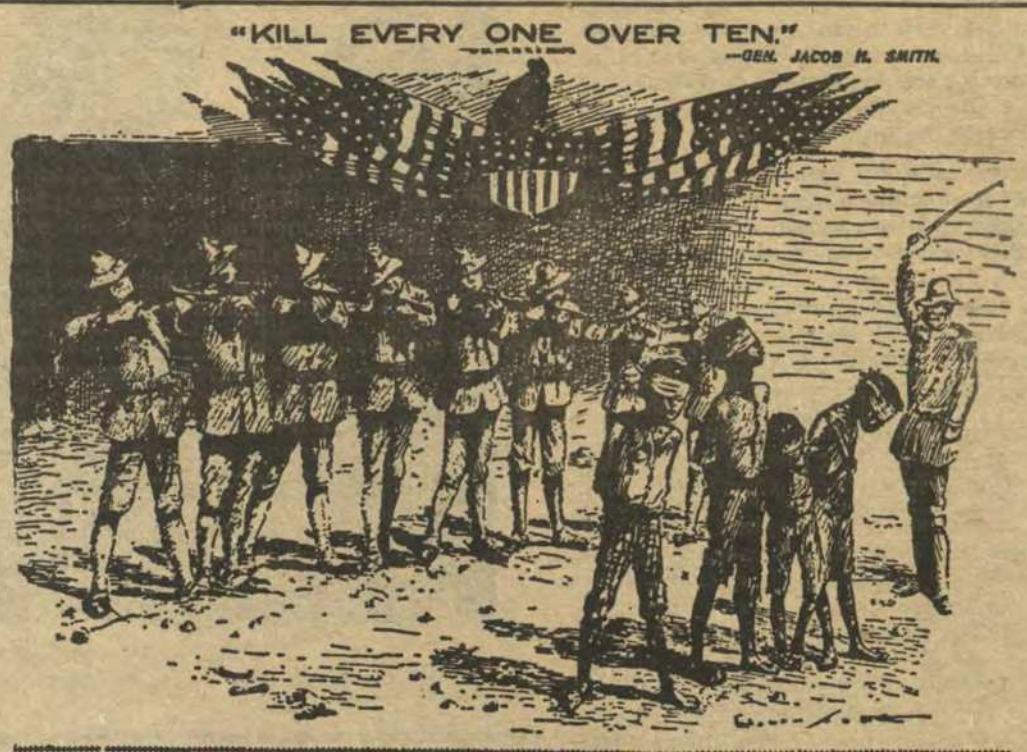
– Pacific Sunday News photo

Young warriors of Mindanao

The frontier, where the fortunes are being made, is Mindanao – but instead of white men against Indians, as in North America, it is Christian settlers against Moslems, tribesmen, and other residents fond of freedom. As it happened in North America, though, the winning of the frontier is being made possible by national government support for the new settlers.

"The only good Moslem is a dead Moslem," is a popular line among Mindanao Christians, but the fighting is not over religion. It is over land, and control.

The government-controlled media in the Philippines presents the Moro National Liberation Front [MNLF] as fanatical Moslems or Maoists attempting to align the Philippines with Communism, or as bandits in the hills.



The MNLF sees itself as a political party dedicated to the independence of the southern islands of Mindanao, Sulu, Palawan, and Tawi Tawi. It claims its civic committees and military commands have the strong support of 5-million Moros (natives of Mindanao) in the islands of Sulu, Basilan, Tawi Tawi, Palawan, and the Mindanao provinces of Zamboanga del Sur, Zamboanga del Norte, Cotabata, Davao, Bukidnon, and Lanao del Sur and Norte.

"Communism and Islam are incompatible," says Hazrat Mantri, MNLF political spokesman for the Lanao area. "There is no connection between the MNLF and the New People's Army [NPA] except that the leadership of both developed at the same time in the same place. [Philippines President Fernando Marcos] would like the world to believe we are Maoist-oriented. The assumption is ridiculous – our struggle dates back centuries – the NPA is a new ideology in this country."

"Although it is still too early to determine what political system we will adopt on liberation," said Jamil Lucman, a strategist working directly under the MNLF Central Committee, "one thing is certain: Communism and the Koran cannot exist in the same government . . . we will never allow Communism to rule Mindanao."

Lucman says that the struggle began anew in 1970, when the "Ilagas [rats] emerged. They are a Government-financed, Army-backed group of Christian fanatics, intent on taking our ancestral lands. They use the mask of their different religion to drive us out and try to inflame race relations to strengthen themselves."

Mantri points out, though, that this is not a Christian-Moslem religious struggle, however. "We are only fighting those Christians who are willing instruments of the military, and land speculators from Luzon. We have a long history of hospitality extended to Christian settlers from the north, whom we have allowed the use of some of our land. But suddenly, we found ourselves being driven out – massacred."

"We are fighting for the right to retain our homeland, our culture, our religion," said Yacob Dimas Mora-ato, Ranao Revolutionary Command chairman. "It is the most sacred obligation of a Moslem. In part, it is a debt we owe our forefathers who died protecting Islam here, or we would be Catholic, as was the fate of Moslem Luzon and Visayas. Every Moslem must die sometime – to die on the battlefield for Islam is the highest honor we can obtain."

"Our leaders are created by the circumstances," Lucman says. "The people must follow whoever can arm them. When the armed struggle is over, the leadership will most likely shift to those commanders and civic committee chairmen who worked most closely with the masses, those whom the people recognize and identify with."

Morale is so high among the rebels that the boys in sweatshirts, sneakers, or bare feet laugh away their lack of supplies. What little funds MNLF is raising are directed toward the procurement of more arms. The BMA forces laugh at the idea of surrender.

MNLF leadership remains in the hands of former political science professor Nur Misauri and a group of 90 students who were studying at the University of the Philippines in Manila in 1966. These students, more concerned with national welfare and politics in the country than in career studies, now chair committees on logistics, communication and transportation, propaganda, an armed unit, and finance. Stemming from the Central Committee is a network of civic committees successfully upgrading barrio life in many areas where the government has failed.

All MNLF members are unsalaried. The money backing the organization comes in part from sympathetic Malaysian and Arab countries for arms and training. But the bulk of the funds supporting the revolution is filtering from the people in the barrios up, not from the Central Committee down. A military commander, finding the need for money for an operation, might inform his barrio committee in detail of the operation and need, and the barrio committee would accept contributions from the barrio's residents.

Life necessities are being provided MNLF members by relatives and residents of the barrios in which they work. Discipline is strict: the death penalty for rape, extortion, or looting.

The MNLF's four-point proposal to the Philippine Government includes demands that the present government recognize the territorial integrity of their lands, and grant the Moros autonomous state government with full internal control.

"The armed struggle is only the first part of the revolution," Mora-ato said. "The real revolution will come after the military victory, when we must rebuild politically."

"We'll fight even if we have only stones to throw," said Lucman. "And when the stones are gone, we will scream if we still can."

The 7,000-member organization of aboriginal tribesmen, who follow neither Christianity nor Islam, contains several units of guerilla fighters who have requested and received military training and high-powered weapons from the Central Committee forces. The aboriginal group is known as the Caballeros de Rizal Agricultural Endeavor.

They are trying desperately to pressure the government into providing educational and agricultural aid to the tribesmen, who are 99% illiterate. Those fighting say they are fighting for their land which the government has been deeding in vast estates to leading families of Manila. "How can we farm without our land?" they ask.

In Bukidnon, the publicly-glamorized PANAMIN (Presidential Arm for the Minorities) agency has removed native people from their productive hills, and placed them on a model PANAMIN settlement village, and left them to starve in the rudest of huts with no food, supplies, teachers, medical attention, or other benefits promised by the government in enticing them down, reports a Mindanao State University team of anthropologists (all of whom are Christians from Luzon).

The MNLF does not openly control any major cities in these areas, a lesson learned from the total destruction of the city of Jolo in Sulu by government bombs. Nor do they occupy camps, though a small number of hidden supply and training camps are scattered throughout the country. The guerillas live in the barrios (villages), one or two to a house.

When the residents of the islands of Cebu and Mactan discovered Magellan's European ships sailing into their waters on March 16, 1521, they had already been involved in trading with the Arabians and Chinese since the close of the 9th Century. Magellan arrived, planted a cross, and claimed the islands for Spain. He staged mass baptisms, although the people of Mindanao, at least, were already Muslim.

(continued on next page)

Magellan died there – a chieftan from Mactan refused to submit to Spanish authority and killed Magellan, at which point the "discoverers" left. In 1565, Miguel Lopez Legazpi arrived to gain vengeance and control. After first razing the city of Cebu by fire, he landed, claimed the island, and began an island-by-island conquest. In 1571, he arrived in Manila, a Muslim stronghold, where a bitter battle ensued. On June 3, Manila became a Spanish city, and by 1600, most of the islands were under the Spanish flag.

The Galleon trade between Acapulco, Mexico, and Manila became an important part of the Spanish Empire. The Philippines were ruled by Spain through Mexico until 1821 when Mexico gained independence. The land patterns were the same – "encomienda" were set up, giving the right to the Church to collect tributes from the natives within the boundaries of the grant. During the Spanish colonization, the Filipinos rose in revolt some 200 times.

In the last decade of the 1800s, imperialist sentiment was running high in the U.S. After unsuccessfully attempting to find a war with Canada, Chile, and England, the U.S. got its chance with Spain in 1898.

For years, Spain had been having serious empire troubles. By 1895, it was fighting two revolutions – one in Cuba against the patriot Jose Marti, and a second in the Philippines had started in 1892 when a secret society, "Katipunan", began to focus the struggle there. In 1896, Emilo Aguinaldo addressed two manifestos "To the Filipino People" – that was the first time they had united in name. Before that, they had referred to each other by dialect or province, and as far as the Spanish were concerned, they were all "Indios".

The people rose up in rebellion in August, 1896. Leaders were executed by the Spanish. Finally, on June 20, 1898, the Filipino Declaration of Independence was proclaimed and announced by Aguinaldo. However, Admiral Dewey was sailing for Manila, and he soon was in secret negotiations with the Spanish for the Spanish fleet to be "defeated" in Manila Bay, and for the Spaniards to surrender to him. Thus, while the Filipinos had surrounded Manila by August, the mock battle of Manila Bay occurred, and the Filipinos were sold out by their supposed friends.

After Dewey's victory, U.S. General Nelson Miles of Indian Wars fame rushed his troops to Puerto Rico in order to occupy it before the war ended. They marched through Puerto Rico as if on a 4th of July Parade. The Spanish-American "War" had, at little cost of lives or money, raised U.S. prestige abroad and gave the U.S. new colonies: the Guantanamo Naval Base in Cuba, Cuba itself, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines.

Secretary of State John Hays called it a "splendid little war."

Nevertheless, the Filipinos proceeded to establish a revolutionary government, and drafted a constitution. Again, however, the USA was negotiating with the Spaniards, and in December, they signed the Treaty of Paris. In this treaty, Spain ceded the Philippines, along with other lands, to the USA for a cash settlement of $20-million, which works out to $2 a Filipino. Protests of the Filipino Commission in Paris were ignored at the signing. Just as significantly, the treaty guaranteed the Catholic Church continuing control of their extensive landholdings which Filipino farmers had already liberated from the Church.

Thus tired after beating off the Spanish, the Filipinos now had to battle the U.S. forces. The U.S. declared military occupation of Manila on September 14, 1898, triggering a bloody and brutal war.

The Treaty of Paris could not go into effect until the U.S. Senate had ratified it, and the proponents of ratification did not command a majority in the Senate. But a maneuver garnered the support: armed conflict broke out on February 5, 1899, and propaganda made it appear that the Filipinos fired the first shots. With the treaty concluded, President McKinley issued his so-called "Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation."

U.S. President McKinley stated that the U.S. was taking over the Philippines as a protectorate. He said it was "the white man's burden to educate the Filipinos and uplift and civilize and Christianize them" in preparation for "self-government". To this end, the Sedition Act went into effect on the islands, outlawing any advocacy of Philippine independence through peaceful means or otherwise. McKinley appointed a governor to run things, and 600 American teachers arrived as forerunners to the Peace Corps to teach English and civics, geared, of course, to U.S. values and ideals.

Rudyard Kipling called it "The White Man's Burden" to "civilize" the Filipino native people with Christianity. The U.S. colonial troops, however, held up their new Krag automatic rifles and sang a song that said they would "civilize 'em with a Krag!"

The resulting war was just one long series of My Lai-type atrocities. Gen. Jacob Smith gave the order to a Marine Corps major quelling resistance on the island of Samar to "Kill and burn – this is no time to take prisoners. The more you kill and burn the better. Kill all above the age of ten. Make Samar a howling wilderness." The major, a good soldier, followed orders. Samar was turned into a howling wilderness.



– Pacific Sunday News photo
A brother fighting for a people's freedom

In another instance, 600 Moro men, women, and children who had taken refuge in the crater of an extinct volcano, were killed by troops commanded by General Wood who fired upon them from the crater's rim. They received commendations for their heroism.

In January, 1899, the Filipino emissary to Washington protested the U.S. actions, pointing out that it was the U.S.' own example of revolt from colonial control which had been a motivating factor in the Filipinc revolt against Spanish control.

Otis reported to Congress that his policy was "to keep peace with the natives" but that they were "determined to have war." He added that the Filipino people were "not fitted for self-government" and "they never intended to secure their independence." Otis was replaced in May of 1900 by General Arthur MacArthur.

Back in the U.S., there was great controversy. Some argued that they were against forcing the Filipinos into becoming U.S. citizens "because it would endanger our civilization".

Military rule was maintained by brutality. There were 108 hangings in three months. Poverty-stricken Filipinos, weakened after years of working for Spanish colonists, were hired by the Americans to fight their own people. Native people were forced into hamlets to prevent them from aiding guerillas. Towns were burned on suspicion of harboring "hostile belligerents".



Kalinga women of Lubuagan, Mountain Province, Philippines . . . the mothers of the nation.

General J. Franklin Bell admitted that possibly 600,000 inhabitants of Luzon died in the process, as he attempted to kill or capture every able-bodied man in the province.

According to General MacArthur, the Filipinos would need "bayonet treatment" for ten years before they could "realize the grandeur of their destiny under U.S. rule."

To disguise the reality of military rule, a law was passed in 1901, making it an offense for any person to advocate independence or separation from the U.S. whether by peaceful or other means. The Brigandage Act of 1902 promised death or long imprisonment to anyone even circumstantially involved in "banditry". Nationalism was considered rebellion. Schools taught children the heroes of the revolution gaining freedom from Spain were criminals and insurrectionists. History books omitted the tale of the million people who died in the imposition of U.S. sovereignty.

Paralleling the installation of U.S.-regulated tribal governments on reservations, there was a move toward "Filipinization", meaning the installation of local government, but giving the U.S. Congress the power to annul any laws it might pass unfavorable to U.S. interests.

So brutal was the assault that the 1911 model .45-caliber revolver was developed specifically to meet the needs of "pacification" on Mindanao, because the defenders wrapped rattan strips around their bodies to act as tourniquets so they could keep charging in a sword-and-knife attack after they had been hit with .38-caliber bullets.

The seven-year war, known as the "first Vietnam" cost the U.S. 70,000 casualties and more than $600-million.

It was classic colonialism – currency was minted in the U.S. for use in the Philippines. American text-books were used. Children in the tropics learned English in stories about Dick and Jane in their sturdy houses with smoke curling from the chimneys. Older students studied the heros of Lexington and Concord.

In 1934, enough U.S. loyalty had been imposed and enough of an economic foothold had been gained that "independence" could be talked about. The Philippine Independence Act was passed in that year, setting the date as 1946 – on July 4, of course. The Act granted the American economic giant full freedom for exploitation of the Philippines, and patterns of trade in both imports and exports were firmed up making the Filipinos dependent on American economy.

In 1941, the economic contest between the U.S. and Japanese imperialists broke out into armed conflict for possession of the islands. Before the war broke out, there was talk of advancing the date of independence so the U.S. could move out, but within four hours of the bombing of Pearl Harbor, the Japanese had begun raids on the Philippines. By January 2, Manila was in Japanese hands, invading forces meeting little or no opposition. On May 6, 1942, General Wainwright surrendered all American and Filipino forces to the Japanese.

Life for the Filipino under Japanese occupation was difficult. Laws now had to be approved by Japanese advisers. Government officials were appointed, assembly was prohibited, and no one was allowed to have a short-wave radio. New money, printed in Japan, was introduced. Schools now taught the Japanese language. Rice and sugar crops became deficient as the Japanese ordered more cotton to be planted, thus adding shortages, hunger, and disease to the list of oppressions.

The guerrilla movement was especially strong in Mindanao and Central Luzon, and aided by U.S. forces, the Japanese were forced out by July 4, 1945. With the return of U.S. control, however, wealthy landlords also returned to take control of the lands of the people.

One group, the 20,000-strong Hukbalahaps, held out for total self-determination until it was finally put down by combined U.S./Filipino forces. The Huks were eager for land reform and had no desire to return to the feudal system. They set up a government in the barrios and fought for land, freedom, and human dignity

After the war, though, the same planes, tanks, and artillery supplied by the U.S. Army to route the Japanese were used to disarm the same guerilla fighters who had rescued the U.S. soldiers from the Japanese prisoners-of-war camps.

In 1946, Philippine president Roxas, who had been a cabinet member in the Japanese-sponsored Philippine government which had supported the landlords, declared the Huks illegal. Although Luis Taruk, a Huk leader, won a seat in Congress, he was not admitted to Congress and was instead imprisoned. In the 1950s, the Huk movement was suppressed in what the *U.S. News and World Report* called "one of the CIA's great but unpublished victories."

But still in 1975, the situation of the Huks is yet to be resolved. In Pampanga, where Marcos promised land reform, 90% of the land belongs to 5% of the

population. Another guerilla group, the New People's Army, was formed in 1969, and by 1972 had at least 800 village organizations and 400,000 followers.

When the Filipino were finally granted political independence as scheduled in 1946, their country was in sad shape. Between the bombings of the occupying Japanese and the bombings of the liberating Americans, many cities were all but demolished. There was hunger and illness all over the country. Through a 1947 agreement, amended in 1958, the U.S. was granted the right to unlimited military bases for 44 years.

But as the population grew and Japan's reconstruction needs made timber a valuable commodity, settlers and



— Pacific Evening News

A group of freedom-fighters pauses for prayer in the Philippine forest before resuming their campaign.

loggers poured into Mindanao from the north following World War II.

The loggers made fortunes stripping Mindanao's hillsides, and the settlers found there was enough vacant land to go around. Since Moslems were in the majority, they did not feel threatened.

Compared to the 800 U.S. corporations with combined investments of over $3-billion, are the 75% of the 39 million Pilipinos who are propertyless and earning an average of $150 per year.

Studies indicate that U.S. corporations remove an average of $5 for every dollar invested in the Philippines — the highest profit margins in the world. For the residents, though, they must import and consume all their finished products and expensive manufactured goods, and pay for them with cheaply exported raw materials and cash crops.

When Marcos declared martial law, including censorship and imprisonment without trial, the American business community was happy. "Whatever their scruples about the suppression of civil liberties for the Filipinos, the American business community welcomed the imposition of a Draconian rule that claims the eradication of corruption as a principal goal," the *New York Times* reported.

In 1965, Ferdinand Marcos was elected president of the Philippines, and in 1969 he was re-elected. The Philippine Constitution limits the presidency to two terms, but Marcos had plans to continue.

In 1970, the mood in Mindanao darkened. Before martial law was imposed, the Manila press and Philippine Congress told of hundreds of mosque burnings and the destruction of Arabic schools, mass killings of Moslems on their way to election polls or at prayer.

In 1970, President Marcos began organizing settlements in Mindanao, bringing in settlers from Luzon and the Visayan islands to occupy ancestral Moslem lands. Prior to these settlement projects, the entire 8,828-square-mile province of Cotabato was occupied and governed by Moslems. All the area's congressmen, members of the provincial board, the governor, and mayor were Moslems. Today, not a single Moslem occupies any of these positions. Marcos "solved" the problem by sub-dividing the province into three areas to separate Christians and Moslems — Moslems now retain only one-third of the land. Yet much of the Christian population, particularly the old-timers in Mindanao, are giving material and financial support to the MNLF.

In August, 1971, he suspended the writ of habeas corpus. In September, 1972, he declared martial law. Congress was abolished, censorship of all media imposed, curfews established, the judiciary stripped of its powers, a round-up of dissidents began. U.S. counter-insurgency troops, U.S. advisers, and Air Force men from Clark Field have assisted the Marcos troops. US-AID funds supply "technical assistance" and special police schools.

Meanwhile, oil companies are vying for off-shore drilling rights, lumbering is going on at a dangerous pace, and American exploitation continues.

Just prior to the Marcos decree suspending the nation's courts and imposing military law, the Supreme Court had declared null and void all U.S. claims to property acquired after 1946, the year of independence, and nationalist members of Congress were pressing for immediate confiscation of the land. The court also ruled that no foreigners could be employed in businesses that used Philippine natural resources. The Marcos decree reversed these court decisions, making the future of $3-billion of American investment a lot rosier. In fact, things could not have gone better for U.S. interests if the U.S. Embassy itself had planned the events.

Within a few days after he declared martial law, Marcos announced that "land reform" would be a central feature of his new government, but that promise has turned out to be all show and no go, getting lots of attention in the government-censored press, but offering even greater hardships to poor peasants and native peoples. The fine print in the program excludes 78% of the farmers from eligibility because they don't raise enough corn or rice, and of those remaining, only farmers with 25 or more hectares of land qualify. The rich get richer and the poor poorer under the scheme.

Marcos was in his pre-presidential years an opponent of land reform, and with martial law, has imprisoned many of the strongest advocates of land redistribution. He has also outlawed peasant organizations, demonstrations, and similar cooperative actions. But under the guise of social action, Marcos was able to elicit large amounts of U.S. AID.

In 1972, a bill was submitted to the Philippine Senate proposing that all 4-million Moslems be given a reservation, but the bill was strongly attacked by loggers, ranchers, and mineral rights owners who want to see all Mindanao open to Christian exploitation.

Marcos is in a bind, for his country depends on oil for energy, and 90% of that oil comes from the Middle East's Islamic nations. He has therefore attempted to convince the Arab nations that he is sincerely seeking a political solution to the problem. With this end in mind, he has launched a high-pitched public relations program, and has planned irrigation and roads which appear to be aiding the Moslem population, but which, in fact, are primarily for the utilization of the foreign corporations in the area.

The government has intensified what the military terms "clearing and burning operations." This is a euphemism for indiscriminate bombing and strafing of suspected rebel-controlled areas in an effort to flush out rebels at the cost of civilian lives. The government is reported to have employed bacterial warfare, and napalm has been dropped on the suspected rebel-stronghold in Tumbao, Cotobato City.

A secret report of a government fact-finding team recorded that in the month of November, 1974, alone, about 20,000 men, women, and children were killed by the army in Malusbong in the province of Sultan Kudarat, North Cotobato. This fact gives credence to charges that about 40,000 have already been killed since the struggle began a few years ago.

American Civic Action groups — actually Green Berets on counter-insurgency operations — have also been active in Mindanao. The area is very important to U.S. big business, as well as the Marcos government. The area is one of the richest in natural resources and minerals, and U.S. corporations have flocked to the area, swallowing up vast tracts of land for sugar, pineapple, banana, coffee, and logging. There is also the promise of oil in the Sulu Seas, and Standard Oil, Texaco, and Mobil are among the U.S. oil companies with drilling operations in the Mindanao area.

In the process, native people are being driven from their lands. In Bukidnon, the ancestral lands of the Manobos are being seized. Agro-industrial corporations, lumber companies, and rancher friends of Marcos are converting flatlands into ranches or sugar/pineapple plantations, while the hills are being devoured by logging companies. This rampage for land both in the plains and the hills has caught the native Manobos in the middle, leaving them with no place to go.

The Philippine Packing Corporation — a subsidiary of Del Monte — recently acquired 11,000 hectares of additional land.

The U.S. has 20 military bases in the Philippines, occupying close to 200,000 hectares of land — over 400,000 acres. Clark Field services B-52 bombers, the whole 405th Squadron of F-4 Phantom fighter bombers and B-57 squadrons active in Indochina. It also stores nuclear, chemical, and bacteriological weapons.

Lately, however, the spearhead of the national liberation struggle has shifted to the resistance of the Igorots, one of the original inhabitants of the islands. They number about a half-million, comprised of several tribes concentrated in four mountain provinces: Benguet, Ifugao, Kalinga-Apayao, and Mountain Province. The major tribes are the Bontok (130,000), Ifugao (120,000), Kankanai (100,000) and Kalinga (90,000).

Originally lowland farmers, the Igorots were forced into the mountains and forested interiors by settlers immigrating from southeast Asia and other foreign invaders. Now they have a subsistence agriculture, centered on rice terraces built out of rocky mountain sides. Land is owned in common.

However, the Marcos dictatorship bluntly considers the common ownership, spiritual beliefs and cultural practices as "anathema to their continued survival, progress, and happiness."

In the Mountain Province, the Marcos regime has authorized the implementation of the Chico River Basin Project, which will flood the terraced ricelands owned by the Bontoc and Kainga peoples for centuries. Critics of the project, which include anthropologists and officials, point out that this would mean relocating about 20,000 families, uprooting them from their communities and villages.

The government contends that the dam is essential to "national development" though the fact is it will irrigate 10,000 hectares of land in Cagayan Valley owned by Defense Secretary Juan Ponce Enrile, Gov. Puzon of Gagayan, and Marcos himself.

Opposition to the new developments began in 1974 and gradually intensified. On one occasion, a government team was confronted by 200 Igorots armed with traditional spears, shields, and bolo knives. To persuade the native groups, officials attempted spurious appeals to patriotism and offered blandishments. But the people remembered the recent past — in 1956 and 1960, two dams built in Benguet territory uprooted 30,000 Benguet people who were forced out and their lands were given to army veterans.

In May, 1975, 150 Bontok and Kalinga leaders met and signed a unity pact in formal opposition to the Chico River Basin Development Project. They vowed to prohibit their people from taking jobs with the National Power Commission, and to absolve anyone killing a member of the community found aiding the Government. For a while, the Department of Public Information saturated the area with pamphlets in the Bontok language, depicting how life can be improved by electricity — but it never mentioned the dam.



The *New York Times* of March 13, 1976, reported the ambush of two "Civic Action Units", 13 of whose members were killed. Earlier, the Philippine Constabulary chief, several governors, and Major Roger Brown (the U.S. commander of Camp John Hay) narrowly escaped death when the lead vehicle of their convoy was ambushed by the New People's Army predominantly composed of Igorots in Beguias, Benguet. Five soldiers were killed.

The Mountain Province, about 400 miles north of Manila, has now been cordoned off by the Government since the outbreak of fighting between the troopers and the combined forces of Kalinga-Bontok tribesmen and the New People's Army. The "Voice of America" U.S. propaganda radio maintains its powerful transmission center in the Mountain Province.



Subic has the largest ship-repairing facility in Asia, as well as the largest naval magazine. Underwater holes in the mountains that slope sharply into the sea of the protected harbor offer cozy havens for American nuclear subs, further protected by steel doors. Clark was an important factor in the bombing of Vietnam, and most of the activity associated with the Haiphong Harbor mining originated there. The U.S. gets both bases rent-free.

The Philippines had also been a regional headquarters for a myriad of unpublicized regional operations, such as the huge printing press turning out psychological warfare literature in 11 languages at the Embassy.

If you liked Vietnam, chances are pretty good that in the next few years, you'll really love the Philippines. All the ingredients for another Vietnam are there: a hopelessly corrupt dictatorship; a nation of peasants with 90% of the wealth in the hands of 4% of the population; "vital" U.S. military bases in the country; a Communist-nationalist insurgency movement; U.S. corporate involvement to the tune of about $3-billion.

[Thanks to Liberation News Service, Sally Brule and the Syracuse Peace Council's Peace Newsletter, Ed Goodman of the Bugle American and to Barbara and Leon Howell, to Calvin Bonner writing in the Workers World, to John Rice and the National Black Draft Counselors, the Washington Post. Thanks also to Ang Katipunan, national newspaper of the KDP; Philippines Information Bulletin, published at 14 Glenwood Ave., Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139; to Benedict J. Kerkvliet, professor of political science at the University of Hawaii and The Nation, to Juan Razon Verdad in the Far East Reporter and his brother, Felix Verdad; to Kalayaan, a progressive Pilipino monthly, and to Eric Davin of the Cambridge Tenants' Newsletter.]

Del Monte's "Banana Republic" in Guatemala



— NACLA

— Bananera, Guatemala

Talking to a reporter from *Forbes* recently, Del Monte's chairman Alfred Eames mused, banana trees "are like money trees — I wish we had more of them." Eight short years ago, however, Del Monte didn't own a single banana tree. But today, the corporation owns or controls an estimated 38,000 acres of banana plantations in Guatemala, Costa Rica, and the Philippines.

Del Monte is one of three U.S.-based multinationals that dominate the world banana economy. It and Castle & Cooke and United Brands together account for 70% of the world's $2.5-billion banana trade. Because of this dominance, the companies also exercise considerable influence on the economic life of the banana-producing countries, many of which depend on banana exports as a principal source of foreign exchange.

Del Monte purchased the old United Fruit Company's plantations in Guatemala in 1972. As Guatemala's largest landowner and major investor, United Fruit had dominated the country's economy and pilfered its natural resources. It had exploited workers and consistently opposed organized labor — and it was the leading force in pushing for the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency's engineered overthrow of the progressive government of Hacobo Arbenz in 1954.

However, by the time Del Monte entered the picture, United Fruit had lowered its political and economic profile in Guatemala as part of a sophisticated strategy to rationalize its operations and undercut nationalistic resentments — but the exploitation persisted.

Del Monte is continuing the old tradition of the United Fruit Company in Guatemala. It still operates as though it were above the law — it is allied with the most reactionary elements within Guatemalan society. And, as Central American governments like Guatemala have sought to gain greater control over their natural resources, their efforts have been torpedoed by Del Monte. The corporation reinforces economic underdevelopment and political reaction in Guatemala and acts as a formidable obstacle to change.

The plantations Del Monte took over in 1972 are the most productive in Central America. The Guatemalan acquisition assured its position as a major force in the world banana trade. Actually, the move into the banana market came when in 1968 United Fruit tried to buy control of Del Monte stock. In order to prevent the takeover, Del Monte purchased some Costa Rican banana operations, thus becoming forbidden fruit for United Fruit, which as a result of a 1958 anti-trust ruling that it was monopolizing the banana trade, could not acquire additional holdings. In fact, it was ordered to sell 10% of its banana holdings.

Del Monte's Costa Rican investment proved highly profitable, and the corporation began looking for ways to expand its Central American holdings. United Fruit was under U.S. court pressure to sell that 10% of its holdings to break the monopoly, and so Del Monte made an offer. The plantations in Guatemala would double Del Monte's banana production, and fifteen years of U.S.-sponsored counterrevolution since 1954 had made Guatemala safe for U.S. investors, providing the kind of "stable political climate" Del Monte demands wherever it operates.

By the end of 1970, the two companies had agreed to a $10-million deal, provided the Guatemala Government approved. But in late 1971, Guatemala denied permission for the purchase, insisting that United Fruit sell to Guatemalan nationals. In fact, any other decision would have been in violation of the Guatemalan Constitution, which prohibits the sale of border lands such as those held by United Fruit along the Honduran frontier, to foreign interests.

Still, Del Monte managed to get the approval. It wasn't until 1975, when Del Monte became the subject of an investigation by the Securities and Exchange Commission, that the real story behind Del Monte's success was revealed. Not to be deterred by the Guatemalan Constitution, Del Monte simply dipped deep enough into its corporate coffers to change the Guatemalan government's decision.

Following the advice of then-ambassador to Guatemala, Nathaniel Davis, to retain a "local consultant", in the summer of 1972 Del Monte hired Domingo Moreira, a Cuban-born Guatemalan businessman. Moreira agreed to help swing the deal in return for a $500,000 "consultant's fee". Soon, Del Monte received word to conclude the United Fruit deal, and in September, 1972, Guatemala's president, Carlos Arana Osorio, formally issued a decree approving the sale.

Del Monte claims its hands are clean — it didn't make a bribe, they say, because they had no direct dealings with a government official. However, Del Monte had been careful to cover its tracks. The $500,000 fee was paid through several of the company's Panamanian shipping subsidiaries, and charged to general and administrative expenses. Del Monte also went to great lengths to conceal the transaction with Moreira, who owns a fishing firm called Pesca S.A. as well as grain, chicken and tourism interests. No company record was ever made of Moreira's name, and Del Monte promised never to reveal his identity.

More important than the question of possible bribery is what the Moreira connection reveals about Del Monte's ties with reactionary and corrupt elements of Guatemalan society. Moreira is a fast-dealing businessman whose holdings have expanded greatly since he came to Guatemala from Cuba. He is a well-known backer of conservative political forces, and he has close business and personal ties with Arana and Arana's son, Tito.

Arana has been a key force in the institutionalization of right-wing terror in Guatemala. First, as a colonel, he led the 1966-68 anti-guerrilla campaign which caused the death of thousands of native people and campesinos. Then as president, he generalized his counter-insurgency methods, putting the entire country under a four-year reign of terror. Although Arana has supposedly retired to private life, he is still a powerful influence in a right-wing network that promotes political and personal gain through Mafia-like tactics.

This network lies behind Del Monte's "clean" facade.

Banana Plantations: Private Reservations

The United Fruit plantations Del Monte took over lie in the hot tropical lowlands of southeastern Guatemala, not far from the Atlantic coast ports which face the markets of Europe and the U.S. About all that has changed since the takeover, however, are the signs: "BANDEGUA", they now read, for Banana Development Corporation of Guatemala, the subsidiary that runs Del Monte's operations there. Recognizing that the plantation system which United Fruit developed over the years serves its interests well, Del Monte made so few basic changes that some workers wondered if, in fact, the ownership had changed.

Del Monte pays no tax on its lands, and has only 9,000 acres under cultivation. The remaining 48,000 acres are grazed by 7,000 head of company cattle — not to produce meat, but, as a company official explained, as a tactic to keep squatters off the property, and to prevent the government from expropriating it as idle land.

While Del Monte no longer dominates Guatemala's key transportation networks as United Fruit once did, it still benefits from special privileges. When Del Monte's port facilities at Puerto Barrios on the Atlantic were destroyed by the earthquake in February, the company was immediately able to relocate to choice facilities at the nearby government port of Santo Tomas. The corporation also enjoys a special relationship with the government-run national railway — Del Monte recently loaned the railway several hundred thousand dollars, and also repairs the company's rail cars at its plantation machine shop.

The first thing that strikes a visitor to the town of Bananera, where the plantation headquarters are located, is the highly-stratified social system typical of plantations everywhere. On one side of the railroad tracks, behind fences and guard posts, is the company compound. Amidst country-club surroundings, a few North American executives and a handful of Guatemalan aides oversee Del Monte's vast lands and its 4,500-person workforce. The compound's manicured lawns, spacious tropical mansions, its pool and tennis courts, stand in sharp contrast to the dusty town on the other side of the rail tracks. The evident poverty of Bananera, which exists mainly as an adjunct to the plantation, belies Del Monte's claim that its presence in Guatemala has a beneficial effect on the surrounding economy.

Most of Del Monte's workers and their families live on the plantation itself, isolated even from the small town of Bananera. The company-owned housing camps are conveniently clustered around the banana farms where the men work, along the edges of the railway line. In contrast to the luxurious quarters of the company



AKWESASNE NOTES photo by Francis Wardell

Native children of Guatemala . . . is their more to their future than serving the U.S. bananas?

compound, the workers' housing is spartan and barely adequate. Since there are no roads going into the plantation, the only access to the outside world is the company-operated rail wagon, which runs only twice daily – at the beginning and end of each workday. No one – neither workers nor their families nor company executives – is allowed to board the train without a special pass given out daily by the company office.

To further insure "law and order", there is a Guatemalan Army post in the middle of the plantation, staffed by armed Guatemalan soldiers. A company executive explains that the soldiers take care of any "disturbances" that occur on the plantation. He also recalled the original reason for the Army post – in the late 1960s, guerrillas were active in the area, and a United Fruit pilot was killed. Given the potential for social unrest in the Guatemalan countryside, Del Monte is not taking any chances.

Many of the workers at the Bandegua plantation are native people, once farmers in the neighboring provinces who were either forced off the land or who could not feed their families by farming. At the plantation, their sole source of sustenance is the salary they receive – averaging about $870 a year, with free housing, water, electricity, and medical facilities. Given other working circumstances in Guatemala, Del Monte's employees are better off than most.



– Akwesasne Notes photo by Bob Wright

This native girl is in front of a temporary home built from cane since the earthquake. Her people have been pushed higher and higher into the mountains, where even poor land is scarce, while Del Monte has 48,000 idle acres.

This policy of maintaining a relatively-privileged workforce was originally pioneered by United Fruit. Like other monopolistic corporations, it recognized that higher salaries would ensure labor peace – and their hefty profit rates allowed them to do so.

For the banana industry, a docile and cooperative labor force is a special imperative. Bananas are a highly-perishable commodity, and time is critical in the marketing process. A work stoppage of even a day can mean the loss of hundreds of thousands of dollars in overripe bananas. Harvesting is carefully timed to coincide with the arrival of Del Monte's ships at Puerto Barrios. Within one day, the bananas are cut, washed, packed, and sent by train to the port where they are immediately loaded onto specially-refrigerated ships for transporting to U.S. and European markets. Del Monte is willing to pay its dockworkers, who hold the key to the whole marketing process, an almost unheard of $600 a month on a piece-rate basis.

The plantation workers, who earn between $2.80 and $4 a day, are not nearly so well off. In fact, their relative privilege is more than anything a commentary on the miserable living conditions in other fincas and plantations. To supplement this insufficient income, wives and children of the banana workers are forced to find jobs, often in the banana-packing sheds, where salaries are the lowest on the plantation. 17% of the plantation families do not have an income adequate to obtain a minimum satisfactory diet.

Work conditions on the plantation are extremely difficult. The production system is designed to use labor, not machines, and requires men for the continual painstaking work of weeding, trimming, tagging and spraying. Under the hot tropical sun, crews of workers roam amongst the banana trees under the constant supervision of the Bandegua foremen. When one of Del Monte's ships is in port, workers often harvest for 12 to 13 hours at a time – one man cutting down the banana stem with his machete, and another carrying the stem – which can weigh up to 150 pounds – in a sack slung across his back.

As one of the U.S. executives on the plantation told interviewers from the North American Congress on Latin America [NACLA], "It's backbreaking work, and you couldn't get a single person in California to do it, especially for $2.80 a day . . . I wouldn't do it for any money." But, as he explained, cheap labor is key to the company's profits. "If you can pay a worker 35 cents an hour, why buy an $8,000 tractor?"

The main device the company uses to extract maximum value from the workers' labor is payment on a piece-rate basis. While this gives the banana workers the possibility of earning more, it also means a higher level of exploitation – they drive themselves to the limit, often with disastrous long-range consequences for their health. And for the company, the higher productivity translates into higher profits, far out of proportion to the meager wage benefits.

As Del Monte realizes, in spite of its "enlightened" labor policies designed to keep workers quiet, there is always the underlying danger of labor unrest. Historically, the banana workers in Guatemala have a strong tradition of struggle. During the Arbenz period (1944-1954) the United Fruit Workers union was one of the most militant and progressive in Guatemala. That militancy was quelled as a result of the massive repression unleased against the labor movement after the 1954 coup when banana union-leaders were jailed, killed, or exiled.

Now, however, the union is recognized as a "sindicate blanco" or a sell-out.

In a pattern familiar in the U.S., the union performs the function of loyal opposition – opposing the company on bread-and-butter issues, but generally promoting an ideology of cooperation with the company.

The Bandegua, known as SITRABI, has cooperative relations with the American Institute for Free Labor Development [AIFLD], an organization funded by the State Department's AID, and often used by the CIA to undercut genuine progressive unionism in Latin America. Every year, a handful of chosen Bandegua workers spend months at AIFLD-sponsored courses in Guatemala City learning U.S.-style unionism, and some are sent to AIFLD schools in Honduras and Colombia. Many of these AIFLD graduates become union officials, or are given supervisory jobs on the plantation.

The Banana War

The most direct challenge Del Monte has confronted in Guatemala stemmed from the attempts of an association of banana-producing companies to assert greater control over their natural resources. Barely a year after Del Monte took over from United Fruit, the major banana-producing countries – Guatemala, Costa Rica, Panama, Honduras, Colombia, Nicaragua and Ecuador – proposed formation of a producers' organization, the Union of Banana-Exporting Countries [UBEC] modelled along the lines of the oil nations' group, OPEC. For most of these countries, banana exports constitute a major source of foreign exchange – yet they are totally dependent on a world economy structured to benefit the dominant capitalist countries. The world market price of bananas has remained nearly unchanged for twenty years, while the cost of manufactured imports has skyrocketed. In 1960, a tractor cost three tons of bananas, and in 1970, the same tractor cost eleven tons of bananas.

Not only that, but the governments of banana-producing nations realize that virtually all the financial benefits of the lucrative banana trade go straight into the pockets of the banana companies – only 11.5% of the banana dollar remains in the producing countries. So one of the first actions taken by UBEC was to propose a $1 tax on each box of bananas exported.

Del Monte, United Brands, and Castle & Cooke saw the threat – documents submitted to the U.S. Senate Committee on Multinationals allege that the three companies met in Costa Rica in early 1974 to coordinate a strategy for confronting the UBEC challenge. In mid-1974, Costa Rican Foreign Minister Gonzalo Facio charged that the companies had set up a secret fund to "destabilize" the UBEC member governments in order to prevent them from levying the banana tax.

Castle & Cook's subsidiary, Standard Fruit, took the lead in the campaign of intimidation. It cut back on exports from Costa Rica and Honduras, destroyed 145,000 boxes of bananas rather than pay the tax, and allegedly plotted to assassinate Gen. Omar Torrijos of Panama, one of UBEC's most militant promoters.

United Brands, for its part, bribed Honduran Government officials $1.25-million to reduce their tax, a scandal that eventually led to the suicide of the company's president, Eli Black, and the removal of the Honduran president, Lopez Arrellano.

It wasn't long before these high pressure tactics began to take effect and weaken the UBEC common front. By 1975, Panama was the only country that had imposed the $1 tax. Honduras had dropped its export tax to 25 cents, Costa Rica to 35 cents, Ecuador dropped out of UBEC, and Nicaragua never joined. Guatemala, though it had signed the UBEC pact, had not yet levied any tax at all.

Del Monte focused its efforts on squelching attempts to limit the company's operations in Guatemala. The company's strategy was to fall back on the privileged status it inherited, and in the long tradition of United Fruit, it claimed that its contract was above Guatemalan law. The old United Fruit 1936 contract set a permanent tax of only two cents on each stem of bananas exported, and affirmed that additional taxes could not be imposed until the contract expired in 1981.

While right wing allies stalled off the tax for Del Monte, in the revelations in the summer of 1975 of Del Monte's payment to Moreira and the Honduras scandal, nationalistic pressures increased. By the fall of 1975, the Guatemalan government, under General Kjell Laugerud, announced it would support the tax and negotiate a new contact with Del Monte.

The company responded with a public campaign aimed at intimidating the government. In a full-page ad in Guatemalan newspapers, Del Monte conceded the right of the government to levy a tax, but insisted it would not apply to its firm. Taxing Del Monte "would not be good for Guatemala," the company said. There would be a drop in international sales, and Guatemala would lose export revenues. Besides, Del Monte said in the ad, if the tax were passed, the company would reconsider expansion plans or even cut back operations.

Finally, in November, 1975, nationalistic pressure came to a head and the export tax was pushed through Congress. Beginning with a charge of 35 cents a box, the tax will rise progressively until it reaches 50 cents in 1978.

Del Monte even turned the tax into a profit. Taking advantage of the new tax to raise prices, the box price of bananas in the U.S. shot up from $2.50 to $5.20, an increase way out of proportion to the tax. By the estimate of one company official, Bandegua made a "handsome net profit" on $38-million in sales in 1975.

The Guatemalan Minister of the Economy predicts that Del Monte will recuperate its entire investment in Guatemala within three years.

The outcome of UBEC's effort to confront the multinationals points up the limits of this kind of nationalism. Governments like most of those in Central America are restricted in their ability to challenge the corporations because of their own ties with foreign capital, and reform measures are manipulated to the best advantage of the companies. Finally, whatever economic benefits producer countries do obtain are not likely to benefit the majority of the people, but instead follow the old adage, "The rich get richer while . . ."

It is clear that Del Monte will remain a highly conservative force in Guatemala. While native people go hungry on their tiny plots of high-altitude land, Del Monte lets 48,000 acres of highly-productive land lie idle. Any talk of land reform so that the children of Guatemala will have enough food to eat is certain to find a major obstacle in Del Monte.

Meanwhile, North Americans can ask themselves – do they really want to buy bananas to keep the system going?

And do U.S. people want to handle the problem of exploitation by their corporations themselves, or do they want to leave it to the poor, oppressed native people of Guatemala to do it for them?

[Thanks to North American Congress on Latin America and its journal, "NACLA's Latin America & Empire Report, for its article from which this one is adapted. NACLA's address is POBox 57, Cathedral Station, New York, N.Y. 10025.]

Where the strong trees grow



AGRICULTURE AND THE PEOPLE OF THE OCCUPIED MAYAN NATIONS

by Jose Barreiro

We were driving through Missouri, or maybe it was Oklahoma or Texas – it doesn't really matter. Rarihokwats kept pointing at the countryside, at the long interminable plowed rows.

"You don't see one person," he said. "Not one human being in the whole countryside."

It was true. The land stretched out to forever on each side of the hot asphalt, mile after mile. Here and there you could see a mammoth combine, or a low-flying spray plane, but no people. And on the highway, the cars passed by in a fury, straight ahead.



It was evening, and the men had come in from the fields. They stood in a group, circularly, thirty or forty of them, their machetes hanging.

Duncan and Kai were not ready. Kai was blowing diligently on an open fire, and Duncan mixed the ingredients (garlic, chile, soap) that would be boiled in the water as a demonstration of a natural insecticide.

back of his house for the demonstration agriculture project of the people from the North. He looked around and asked the men. Most of them shook their heads. "It seems no one is missing that we could not commence without," Don Modesto said.

Kai passed out some thin candles and we took the small trail to where the model latrine was built. The men circled it. Duncan searched for words. Slowly, the explanation came out. It was a two-sided latrine pit. One side would be used for a year, after which it would be sealed while the other side was used. At the end of the second year, the first side – with a year's time for decomposition – would provide nearly a ton of rich organic fertilizer, safe to use on the fields. They would alternate sides yearly.

The men, who had walked in from their fields and missed hot suppers to hear of Duncan and Kai's fertilizing methods, listened silently. Duncan spoke for a while, and then stopped.

There were immediate questions. One man stepped forward firmly.

"Good evening," he said. "I have a question for the two friends."

Duncan nodded. Don Modesto and Kai nodded.

"With this method," the man spoke, "it appears there needs to be a wait of two years."

"It is true," Kai answered.

"Thank you," the man said. He lingered a moment, then moved back.

Another man stepped forward. How many meters deep? he wanted to know – also, the width? and could adobe be used for a division rather than cement?

Duncan provided the answers. The man carefully wrote them down and the other men who didn't read or write circled him to appoint him as record-keeper. Some of the men looked into the pit and others shook the pole structure around it. There was scattered conversation, and someone asked about a seating structure. Thus far, the latrine had only two holes cut into a board which covered the pit.

"You don't need no seat," Kai said. He stepped across and squatted over one of the holes. "It's simple," he said. "Just squat like out in the cane – no trouble." The men laughed.

"We did in the past something like this," an older man said. His voice was



– Akwesasne Notes photo by Francis Wardle

Wilkie explains to farmers of Sarajmac the importance of composting

The men looked over each other's shoulders at Kai and Duncan. They were short sturdy men with thick chests, and they stood very straight and attentive. Some of them spoke in Cakchiquel and pointed, and a few laughed lightly as new groups of two and three arrived.

Duncan and Kai hurried. The fire was now strong and darkness was falling. "Are the people here?" Duncan finally asked in Spanish.

Don Modesto stepped forward. He lived next door, and had volunteered the very even. "Before they brought in the chemical fertilizers."

"We would also collect leaves from the forest," said another.

"It's a very old idea," Kai said. "You give back to the earth what comes from the earth."

There were further questions. Duncan explained how to dig in the organic fertilizer for the optimum effect, and on the other side, Kai suggested ways for hauling and transporting it. Both men were farmers too, and so their experience and knowledge translated easily to the men around them. They checked on each other's progress occasionally.

One man, round-faced and alert, had been in the front of the circle from the beginning. Now he folded his arms impatiently.



– Akwesasne Notes photo by Francis Wardle

Women and children of Paraschej with their sister, Maize

"I have just finished the buying of much chemical fertilizer," he said. "I think of using it, as I already have it." Everyone was quiet. Some of the men nodded. "And also, next year," the round-faced man continued, his voice a bit louder, encompassing the whole group. "I have that need. With all respect, my crops are not the same without it."

"It is true," one man whispered, a thin man. Then louder: "I made organic fertilizer one year," he said. "It wasn't as strong as the chemical for my corn."

"When you add the chemical," the round-faced one said, "you see the effect."

Kai and Duncan listened. They exchanged glances. Some translation went back and forth. Kai spoke first. He talked about how the use of chemical fertilizer over the years weakens the earth. "In my own country," he said, "there are areas where the land was so abused that it is now totally dead. It is only increased applications of chemicals that makes it possible to grow anything at all."

"One should not abuse the land," said the old man who had spoken earlier, the one with the even voice. He turned to the thin one: "How did you apply the fertilizer?" he asked in Cakchiquel. The thin one leaned down to explain. He had sprinkled it on.

"No, no," the old man said. "Didn't you listen?"

The old man turned. "He didn't listen. He says that he sprinkled the organic fertilizer around the corn as he would the chemical one."

Kai pointed to the sky. "No, that lets the sun burn the best part."

"One has to dig it into the earth," Duncan explained.

The thin man nodded vigorously. "Thank you, thank you," he said.

"One has to listen," the old man said after him. There was some grinning and back within the group someone gave the thin one a friendly shove. He smiled sheepishly.

"But it is not as strong," the round-faced man who had bought the chemical said. "That is what I maintain."

"It is true," Duncan said. "But only in the beginning. Your land here has been weakened by the many years you have been using the chemical. I am told you have been using chemical fertilizer for 20 years now."

"It will take that many years to re-strengthen it," added Kai.

The chemical buyer shrugged his shoulders philosophically.

"But that's the way it is now," someone else said. "The chemicals are stronger."

There was a silence, then some murmuring. Kai and Duncan exchanged glances. Don Modesto looked to them. The old man shook his head lightly.

Duncan spoke first. "Wait for me a moment," he said. He looked around, over the crowd, and raised his hand, asking for patience – then he walked off.

The men looked after him and you could spot his silhouette in the gathering darkness as he walked into a field nearby, then to another place, and then back.

He re-entered the candlelight and knelt on the latrine board, placing before him two mounds of dirt. The men huddled around him, and the chemical buyer leaned down.

"One is from that field," Duncan said, "where I know the chemical has been used much time. The other one is from that place up there, where the pigs and chickens and goats are kept." The men's faces followed his pointing finger all around and back to the dirt mounds.

"Which is from the field?" he asked them.

The men pointed at one mound, and Duncan nodded. He grabbed a handful of the dusty light-red soil, pressing it within his fist. It clumped up. "You see," he said, "like a clay. There is almost no life left in it."

He poked in the other mound, scattering the dirt. It was dark, with thick but granular consistency. "Look at this – this is the way all this land could be."

Some of the men bent down. The chemical buyer squatted. Duncan grabbed a handful of the black dirt and squeezed it. The chemical buyer reached to open Duncan's hand. The dirt sat evenly on the open palm, spilling over the sides.

"This is very strong earth," Duncan said.

"It used to be so with all the land," the old man with the even voice echoed.

Duncan looked at him. "It can all be like this pile again," he said. "The strength is in what you return to the earth."

The old man nodded. The chemical buyer was squatting in front of the mounds, his machete resting across his thigh. His eyes roamed to the old man, and then to Duncan, and back to the mounds of earth, quick eyes. There was a concerned expression on his face.



Don Nicholas seemed to know about everything and one day when I asked him about chemical fertilizers, their effect on the land, who it benefitted and where it was all heading, he seemed to poise himself for a long *platica*. We were sitting on stools on the dirt floor of his little store, and he bade one of his sons be ready to attend to any customers who might enter.

"It was about twenty years or so," he said, leaning back against the wall. "From one moment to the next and all of a sudden, it was a great thing. People came to the plaza on market day with

bullhorns and on the radio there was much talk and the impression was of something miraculous taking place. A new thing. A miracle that your crops would grow gigantic with less work on your part. At the beginning, it was very cheap – in some villages, they gave it away.

"The people began to employ it and you can believe these words – it was a thing almost furious. Everybody joined. The corn grew bigger, and many, many people – I would say most people – left off on the natural *abono*, on rotation of the various crops – all these things got left off and improving your harvest became as simple as a bag of the white dust."

Nicolas stopped. Two men had come into the store, and a woman with a young boy. Don Nicolas greeted them in Cakchiquel. They all came closer to shake hands, and to be introduced formally.

Nicolas sat again. The group stood, leaning against the wall.

"Very well," Don Nicolas continued. "Like in the Bible, Paradise is never eternal. Two curious things. First the price of this material, this fertilizer, started to rise. Higher and higher – every year without failure, except for after the earthquake, it has risen steadily. It is to the point where many people pay more for the chemical now than they make on their whole harvest. But, you see, they have no other side to hang onto.

"The second curious thing: every year, we need more of the white dust. Without fail, every year the land needs more. I don't know much about this thing of drugs, but I heard your jefe compare this fertilizer with heroin – is it heroin? Anyway, how the person afflicted needs more all the time and pays more? I think that is interesting, and it makes a connection for me.

"Now, I am a man. I can think, I can talk. I ask my young men: 'Brothers,' I say to them. 'If we look into the future, given these two conditions, will there not come a day when it must end?'

"You see, without the land, even though it is in short supply and weak, we have no life. If we don't work that land, if a man has not the opportunity to go forth every day and work his *milpa*, work to deliver the *alimento* to his woman so that she too can do her function, if he does not go to the fields with his neighbors and there share experience and friendship, if they together or individually don't go to the *sajorin* for ceremonies – we are men of corn, you see – if we don't have these things, we cease being what we were intended to be.

"I am a storekeeper. I am also a tailor – as you know. But look all around my house and you will see corn growing. I am not alone in that sentiment. Well, my friend, the colonizers, the ones in the capital, they know that if we lose the land, we lose everything else. And what then? Then they control how we earn our lives – they create empty men for their factories, for the large plantations and *fincas*. Oh no, believe me my words – it is important to us, the land."



He called himself an "agricultural promoter" – a wiry, quick-eyed man who rode into the pueblo one morning on a motorcycle twice his size. He wore knee-high leather boots and carried a thin briefcase.

There was a meeting scheduled that morning for the various agencies and groups doing earthquake reconstruction work in San Jose Poaquil, and he had come for it – Ovidio Lopez was his name, he said, and he was univited but the meeting was open and he was made welcome. When he requested time on the agenda to speak, there was no objection. There was a tall, thick American with him, also on his own motorcycle. One of the men at the meeting pointed him out to me with a grimace – *Cuerpo de Paz,"* he said – Peace Corps.

There was much to discuss at the meeting – the problem of *lamina* (corrugated metal roofing), bureaucratic hassles to overcome in the capital, negotiating with CARE about obtaining materials for a village water supply project. About 30 men of respect had come to represent the various villages of the pueblo.



– Akwesasne Notes photo by Francis Wardell

White Roots agricultural advisers talk with Mayan farmers about plague of insects caused by the use of chemical insecticides and fertilizers.

Ovidio, the "agricultural promoter" and his Peace Corps assistant took seats opposite each other. Ovidio was very attentive – he kept a notebook and every time one of the campesinos got up to speak, he would get his name and village.

Finally, it was his turn to speak. He stood up eagerly, and addressed himself directly to the campesinos. He was an agricultural promoter, he said, and he was there to work with them to devise ways to improve their crops.

"How to do that?" he asked, looking directly from one face to the next. "By having available expert advice, the most modern methods, and money!"

"Now, the main problem of our agriculturists," he continued, "is their inability to formulate long-range plans. This is due to an insufficiency of technical know-how and financial resources.

"We," he said proudly, "and when I say 'we' I mean, one, the institution I represent – Bandesa, a credit institution; two, the Ministry of Agriculture, which stands behind it, and three, the team of experts I have total and constant access to – we are ready to provide these services to individual agriculturists or to groups.





– Akwesasne Notes photo by Francis Wardell

A Cakchiquel girl weaving her family's clothing

He paused. The men were listening – but with impassive faces.

"Our idea is that you don't have enough land," Ovidio said. "And one of the rules is, you can't develop agriculture without adequate land. We would like to finance you so you can take your few cuerdas and buy the land around it. Then a tractor might be a good investment. Then you can buy fertilizer in bulk."

These words had a powerful effect. Ovidio continued to talk. He talked a great deal that day and dangled many fruits, but nothing else he said was as frightening and incisive, nothing as dangerous. The feel of the room had changed. *You don't have enough land,* Ovidio had said, *and I can get more for you.*

He went on. Ovidio's whole body was quick and his manner electrified the room. Now he mentioned names. *In this village, I helped so-and-so get a loan for an orchard. In this other village, we organized a cooperative.* [Here, the Peace Corps collaborator perked up. "It is my assignment to work with the groups," he said in halting Spanish. Then, and this produced a few knowing grins: "I want to get to know all the organized groups. I would like to get to know them well."]

The impassiveness of the men's faces turned sullen, but they continued to listen. In the way of all salesmen, Ovidio went over the same basic rap again and again. Everytime through, he would expand on one area or another as he would describe in detail how to fill out a loan form, or to tell how to study the market for future sales possibilities, or how to expand. He even gave a short lecture on how to choose agricultural workers.

The men were not comfortable, but they followed the discourse with their eyes, and if he threw a direct question at them, they even nodded. There was Ovidio talking about efficiency and large farms and complicated banking systems, but innocently or treacherously, he was really asking these men who were neighbors, who had known each other's families since childhood, who had worked together to eke out a living on their little quarter-acre plots – he was asking these men to buy each other out.

He was saying: one of you decides he wants to make the big move, and I will help you. For a while, as he talked in his rapid rat-tat-tat, the men looking down or forward, silently, there was a fear in that room, a sadness. One could sense the question forming in those faces – was it inevitable that one or more of those present would bite and take advantage of his neighbor's fragile economics? And who would be left out? Who would let go?

The men were silent for the longest time, and Ovidio kept talking. Their heavy silence was grounded in impassive faces and feet solidly planted on the dirt floor. In that room could be felt the wiriness of Ovidio's words, and the neutralizing effect of that powerful silence.

It was too much for one person to push through. Ovidio spent himself. He had controlled his pace for a while, but then he over-extended. He had talked and talked, and gradually, he diminished himself.

Life in these mountain communities is quite even and uneventful. Ovidio, even in the midsts of the danger he represented, was still something other than the ordinary, a diversion. Soon, there was a quiet subtle humor being shared about his small person, and in time, the veil of gloom, the foreboding sense, seemed to crack like a dark sky. The men looked forward with restrained faces and asked careful pointed questions.

"What kind of mortgage is necessary?"

"Mortgage?" Ovidio whispered, like it was a filthy word. "Did you hear me say mortgage?" He was standing now, leaning forward. "Only a guarantee or work," he said. "And repayment when your harvest comes in."

"What if the harvest fails?"

"If it isn't your fault, if you didn't get drunk or lazy, we'll finance you and hope for the best next year."

"Oh," and this craftily, with a grin. "So the debt from the bad harvest is cancelled?"

Ovidio's hand jerked up, his finger shaking. "No, no, no," he said quickly. "I did not say that. Did anybody hear me say that? All debts must be paid."

The men were laughing a little as Ovidio became increasingly high-strung.

"On the long debt – what is the interest?" someone asked.

(continued on next page)

"Very low. Long term payment," Ovidio responded. Then, and here he was resolute, like it was a truth he had savored thoroughly: "the bank cannot lose, of course. The bank must recover its investment."

The men did a lot of nodding and some leaning down and whispering.

Ovidio sat down. Moments later, he sprang up again to invite those interested to stop by after the meeting. It was his last draw. When he sat down again, he looked drained.



– Akwesasne Notes photo by Bob Wright

Dangerous insecticides banned in the U.S. and Canada are sold to illiterate campesinos who are unaware of the hazards. Poisoning cases are frequent, and the land is dying too.

It was lunchtime when the meeting broke up. Everyone milled about a few minutes, waiting to see if there was anything left to say.

Ovidio and the Peace Corps man stood by their motorcycles, adjusting their plastic helmets. One campesino walked up to them. They exchanged words. The rest of the men waited. A few watched. The man wouldn't look their way.

Finally, the rest of the men walked past them in groups of six or more, speaking measured Cakchiquel. They switched to the Spanish only to give the customary "Good day" as they moved on.

My friend Julito and I had just eaten a good meal of beans and tortillas and thick native coffee at Don Nicholas' house. There was that peaceful light mood that can come from a full stomach.

It was Saturday night, and the people from the outlying villages were already arriving at the pueblo, getting ready for the Sunday market. Julito and I drifted along toward the plaza – the electric lights were working that night, and you could greet the faces you passed. I remember wondering about the capacity these people had for carrying heavy loads.

We walked. The men and women carried with their heads, a short band around the forehead attached to the load. They carried incredible burdens of wood or charcoal or grain or pottery and all by thick necks and sheer will power and desperation too. There was a forcefulness in their rapid walk.

Julito greeted people. He was from another region and thus dressed differently, but *"indio es indio"* and the people were outgoing with him. "I hope you carry it all back home in your pockets," he called out to them.

"Thaaaank you," the older women sang back in Cakchiquel. "Thaaaaank you!"

At the plaza, he invited me to a glass of *atole,* a soup-like sweet corn drink. There was loud static singing coming from the Catholic church, and messages blaring from loudspeakers of several competing evangelists. We stood by the makeshift stand, sipping and looking, listening to the sounds. The plaza was filling up, and I didn't remember how long the short sad man and his wife and four children stood politely next to us before some eye-contact was made and the man came forward.

He introduced himself to Julito, and Julito presented him to me. They had met recently at one of the villages we had visited. The wife smiled shyly, and the three older children clung behind her skirts – the youngest was carried on her back.

"Are you here for the market?" Julito asked.

The man shook his head. "I leave to work in the fincas at four in the morning," he said.

Julito was silent. The wife nodded. Julito looked at her and at the man and for a little while, they nodded sadly together.

"Me engancharon," the man said softly – "they hooked me."

"They came to get him today," the wife said.

"Three months ago," the man explained, "a *caporal* came to our village and offered us fertilizer. Ordinarily I wouldn't have accepted, but with the earthquake and all, I was in strong need."

"Did you sign anywhere?" Julito asked.

The man shrugged. *"El dedo gordo,"* he said – "the thumb print" which he had offered because he couldn't sign his name.

He had received ten dollars worth of fertilizer and for that he now had to go out of his pueblo in a cattle truck stuffed with men to work thirty days on the dreaded fincas – the exporting plantations on the Pacific coast lowlands.

"Oh," the wife sighed, coming closer. "And I have to wait and see how they return him to me."

"How much?" Julito asked

"$1.05 a day," the man said.

"Food?"

"I must bring my own."

Julito was angry. "That's not right," he said. "At least they must give the food!"

The man shrugged.

"You see?" Julito turned to me. "That's the way life is for us."

"It falls hard on the poor," the man said.

"The last time he went," the wife said, "it was two years ago. He came back with a bad stomach – and it is still bad."

"They fed us fermented beans," the man said. He smiled wanly. "For that reason I don't mind bringing my own food."

We talked a little longer. It turned out he had asked the police who came for him that day to give him an extra two weeks to work on his crop. They refused.

"I am going to lose a good portion of it," he said. Then, pointing, "My oldest boy has only six years."

"It will be much work," the wife agreed.

We stood together. I remember Julito staring off into the night. We had talked several times about the fincas and he had told me many stories of his childhood there, how from the age of seven he had gone every year; he had told me of the men and women he had seen die there, the children coughing blood from the poison of the spray planes, the long hot days, the malaria, the snakes. He told of the rich families driving in and out, the beautiful lawns they kept and the swimming pools and the make-shift barracks he had slept in, without toilets or water of any kind and the women-children-men cramped on the floor not even as privileged as the cattle, and the work, the work, the sweaty work, how once, three years ago, he had been made to carry a hundred-pound bag on his back for several kilometers until he thought his kidneys would burst and had rested his load on the forked trunk of a tree and a goddam caporal had actually taken a rolled-up whip and cracked him on the side, saying, "Boy, what do you think you are doing?" and how he had held it until the man moved away and then he cried his eyes out for all that insanity and stupidity and injustice and he had sworn he would never go back to those fincas unless it was to destroy them.

The man and the woman drank a glass of atole with us, and we stood silently for a very long time. Julito went to speak once, but checked himself. I caught his eyes and there was that welled-up expression in them.

The man and woman and the four children began to pull away, respectfully, shaking hands, their eyes aware of what they had left with us and that they had asked for nothing.

They walked away across the plaza and at that moment, it became ten o'clock and the electric generator for the town was shut down. Julito and I walked off back the other way toward our camp, past the house of Don Nicolas.

It had turned into a moonless night, dark as sadness.

Marcelino led the way. I had met him at his house on the road and now we walked through a path in the wood, a winding path, overgrown and very green, protected by tall pine trees.

He walked fast, steadily. In his right hand he carried a machete and folded into his waist at the back, I could see copies of the latest edition of *Sol a Sol,* a newspaper put out by indigenous people.

Once, on the edge of a clearing, he stopped suddenly and looked up. Two military transport planes were flying overhead. He pointed with his machete. I nodded. Earlier, at his house, we had seen a large American-made helicopter drone by.

"It looks like the ones they used in Vietnam," I said.

He smiled and nodded lightly. Then he pulled out the newspapers from behind his back and leafed through them. He handed me a copy of an earlier edition – April, 1976 – and looked around for somewhere to sit. "Sit yourself here," he said, pointing to a log. He sat down next to me.

The paper described the military occupation in February and March of this year of a portion of Quiche Province in northwest Guatemala. It read, in part:

> **On February 21, Army helicopters raked with gunfire the entire zone and military forces came in and occupied Cajul and Cotzal. A few days later the entire Ixil country was occupied... on the nights of 19 and 20 March, three cars, a Jeep and two Toyotas, with men in civilian dress and armed, came in and levelled numerous houses, taking several neighbors prisoners and who have subsequently disappeared ... this has happened repeatedly since then, to the extent that the majority of the neighbors lock themselves in their houses in the early evening and wait out the night in anxiety. This state of fear is augmented during the day by the constant presence of helicopters and troops...**
>
> **... the case of Jacinto Cedille of the Canton Xolacul in Nebaj: at 4 a.m., 19 March, 18 men armed with machine guns and carbines levelled his house although they were met with no resistance and brutally beat-up the man and his wife; their screams were heard up and down the neighborhood. When the children (4, 9 and 11 years old) started to cry, they were also beaten and the cannons of the machine guns were shoved in their mouths to quiet them... that same night, they took an old woman, Juana Brito, along with two grandchildren, as punishment for not giving up her son. Four days later, they were returned to the pueblo, terrified, and refusing to speak.**

We ate lunch in a post-earthquake temporary home made of cornstalks, not unlike others in the small caserio where most of the campesinos belong to Marcelino's union.

"Out of fourteen families in this caserio," he said, "eleven are organized with us." He pointed out two of the men who had come in from the fields to join us for lunch. "I guess you two are not yet sure, eh?"

The two men smiled. One looked at the dirt floor and the other looked at us. "Not yet," he said. "There is no certainty within me."

"Yes, that is important," Marcelino said. "I would recommend that you be sure."



– Akwesasne Notes photo by Bob Wright

A modern-day Mayan youngster

The other men nodded. There were about fourteen of them in the large room and we were sitting in a circle on logs. The children came in and out, playing, and some stayed, sitting on the floor against the walls.

The women brought in the bowls of food, soup of dried shrimp from the coast bought at the market, with onion and *yerbas* and stacks of tortillas. There were six or eight women, and they came in a group, talking among themselves, and one of the men would say something in Cakchiquel and they would all laugh. When everyone was served, they sat down in a group in the middle of the room, a couple of them reaching behind their backs, each to pull an infant to her breast.

"Probably it is my duty to explain to you this situation that is mentioned in the newspaper," Marcelino said to me. And to the men: "I refer to the thing of the Quiche. Did you see the planes?"

"I saw them," one said. His name was Don Rafael, a middle-aged man. He put his palms out like planes and made a whirring noise. Everyone laughed.

"The situation that you read about in the newspaper," Marcelino continued, "is not unique. There exists a condition of tradition, by which many of our pueblos have communal lands. The lands are shared by everyone, and usually, there is a water supply within them. In many places, the sheep are herded there.

"But all this is accompanied by a problem: the communal lands are almost always defined solely by tradition. They have no title to protect them. In that situation you read about – and there are many others – a man from the capital, a friend, supposedly of the higher circles, followed this procedure: he bribed the mayor of the pueblo and had a legal deed issued in his name, entitling him to part of the communal lands. This is what I have been told.

"He immediately commenced building, and also he fenced the land off, cutting the access.

"Clearly, as you imagine, our Indian brothers were upset. They formed groups. They went to the mayor. No response. They went to the governor. No response. They went to the capital, petitioned, knocked on doors, spoke to officials. And you must understand that this is a long and expensive journey for them, and it takes time away from their work; there is loss of income. I have heard they even reached to speak to the Presidency. Well, no response, my friend, nothing. And back in their pueblo, this man already had his house built and the fences strengthened and he had hired a work force.

"Well, there was anger and it began to explode. The fence would get torn down. It would be repaired. Police came in. The man from the capital began to carry a pistol. One day, his workers beat up a shepherd who had purposefuly trespassed.

"I am not too familiar with these other details, but I know that at this point a guerrilla band became involved. As oftentimes happens, their solution was brusque and it lacked vision – they killed the man from the capital.

"*Bien,* you are aware of the result. Whole families have disappeared and it is still going on, right now. The guerrilla band protects itself, you see – they move on. The campesinos stay and the brutality falls like rain upon them.

"This is not an unusual case, my friend, and I am sorry for the length of my words, but it appeared to me only proper that I should inform you further of this, since it was I who introduced you to the situation in the first place."

whereupon Marcelino addressed himself seriously to one man who had recently joined the "evangelists". We talked about agricultural promoters, and self-sufficiency, and about how communities were weakened when the men had to go away to the fincas.

The younger men were particularly interested in Wounded Knee. I told what I knew.

"So they lost," Marcelino said, sadly.

"Some things were lost, some things were gained," I said.

"Were they killed?"

"A few – and there is much persecution and imprisonment and trials."

He turned to the men. "Everywhere, you see. It is the same. We must be careful. And you," he said to one of those who had not yet joined the union. "Have you certainty yet?"

The young man grinned lightly. "Not yet, Marcelino," he said, and he seemed sincere. "But more and more."

Marcelino gave his usual platica, his rap. He talked about being strong, helping each other, working together; he spoke about the importance of involving the women who are the foundation of the generations, about respecting everyone that works land. He spoke of the situation of the land, how the land holdings of the *naturales* gets less and less while the colonizer remained greedy for more and more. He spoke again of the plantations: "If we are strong, and we help each other, we don't have to send anyone there to work like slaves for the rich."

Marcelino bent down and drew with a stick on the dirt. He drew a pyramid. "Think of this as our country," he said. He drew a little line, cutting off the top triangle. "These are the latifundistas, the big American and foreign companies." He drew a line part-way down. "This is the people that work for them – the rich ladinos and the poor ladinos and all those that expect to get rich and who believe money is the answer to their problems." He pointed to the bottom sector. "This is us, we who work the land. The indio – and the poor ladino campesinos too," he added as if to appeal for understanding. "We support the pyramid, you see. And we have to unite so that one day we can do this – " and he took his fingers and started at the top of the pyramid, rubbing gently. He made a sweeping gesture to erase the top two sectors. "We must be careful," he said. "We must work steadily." And this with an eye to the undecided young man: "And we must have certainty."



– Akwesasne Notes photo by Francis Wardle
Maria, age 12, helps her family by washing clothes in a stream

We talked further. I thanked him for his words and the understanding they had given me. A couple of the men expressed an interest in the situation of the native peoples in the United States, and Canada, and we spoke some about that. We talked about the need for strong communities, about the mechanisms of control by which they are divided. We talked about the disruptive inroads made by religious groups,

That evening over a hundred people turned out to meet with a planning committee from our group which had come to Guatemala to help in the earthquake recovery programs. We had dinner, and then everyone packed into the tiny meeting house. People looked in from outside the door, and peered in the three windows.

As is the custom, pine needles were spread like a thick blanket on the dirt floor, and everyone sat. Rarihokwats spoke in English for our group, and Antonia, a *Mexica* woman in the group, translated into Spanish so that Marcelino could translate into Cakchiquel.

Rarihokwats spoke in careful, solemn words. He gave thanks to the Creator for the beautiful gifts – for the Sun which warmed us on that day, for the land which provided our food, for the trees that gave us shade, for the voices of the children which signified our future. He spoke about the distances our group had travelled, and why we were there, and what were the skills we had to offer. Then, as had been done in every village, he asked them to confer among themselves as to their most pressing needs, and how we might best work together with them. He and Antonia sat down.



– Akwesasne Notes photo by Francis Wardle
A community shares its food with us

The men and women spoke in Cakchiquel. Points were raised. Some of the speakers were long-winded, and others were abrupt. Both the men and the women spoke. A list was composed.

There were many questions, and most of them focused on the land. We discussed *Aldrin 4%*, a chemical insecticide so dangerous to the environment and human life that it is banned in the United States and Canada – but now heavily pushed in radio and official propaganda for the Mayan people to use. There was much talk of composting heaps, latrines such as the model one in Sqauitacaj, rotation of crops, the "Three Sisters" – corn, beans, squash planted together to complement each other's characteristics. Rarihokwats spoke of unity among natural peoples – how arrows, one by one, can be broken, but together in a bunch they stand firm and there was much nodding.

And then came the question that so often was unspoken in so many minds.

Why are we so poor?

"There are many naturales here in Guatemala," Rarihokwats said. "Most of the people in this country are naturales who depend on the land to supply them with the food they eat each day. And yet, it seems, they have so little land. It is not because the country is small, because there are large areas of land which raise cotton and coffee and bananas and cattle which are shipped out to be sold in the United States.

"This is strange," he continued, "because the people there seem already to have much land. There are fields of corn, for instance, that if one man started to hoe by hand at one end, it would be time to harvest the field before he finished just one row. It would seem that the people in the U.S. would be able to live well without the coffee and bananas for which your country's land is used."

By this time it was late, and we had to walk on through the mountains to another place for the night. The men and women spoke among themselves, and then Marcelino approached us.

"The people here would like you to sing," he said, pointing to Anias, a young Seneca man who held a water drum. The people crowded around him like a forest, particularly the children.

Anias distributed the horn rattles and began to tap the drum, and the music came out. At first, the voices seemed hesitant, but it was the dusk of the day and the people were so quiet and a wind began to blow and strength came. The old traditional Iroquois songs carried their own dimension. The people pressed against each other, listening intently to something from their own past as if hungry for sounds long-since gone from their land.

An old man on my left hoed his corn on the side of a hill. I was walking by myself on the path between two villages.

He called out to me – "Young man!" – signalling gently with his hand. "Come!"

He met me at the edge of his field, reaching into his shoulder bag to pull out two oranges. I recognized him. It was the old man of the meeting with Duncan and Kai, the one with the even voice.

He gave me the fruit. "For the road," he said. I sat down on an embankment, and he did the same. He asked where I was heading, and I told him. He stood up to point out specific directions for me. We sat down again. "Eat an orange," he said. "Refresh yourself."

I ate the orange. It was juicy and freshly picked. We sat in pleasant silence. Down the field a ways were his wife and grandson. The grandson came close. The old man called to him and the boy came to sit on the ground, leaning into his grandfather's thigh. The old man was looking toward me. "I want to ask you a question," he said resolutely, the way people do when they really want to give an answer.

"Sure," I said.

"The earthquake," he said. "Why do you think it occurred?"

"Well, I'm not really sure," I said.

He leaned forward and picked up my orange peels and threw them over into his field.

"I can tell you," he said with that even voice. He smiled. The smile was like any bright old man's smile anywhere in the world – shiny.

"Heh, heh," he said, waving his hand. "It's not like the priests and evangelists say that the earthquake came to us as a punishment from God.

The earth shook. She went like this" – and here he beat his hands in the air. The boy seemed startled. "RRRRRR boom, boom-boom-boom-boom-boom. From all sides." He chuckled.

"It woke everyone up. We were all sleeping. I mean in all ways we were sleeping. And it woke everybody up."

He was silent. I finished my orange and stood up to go.

"I hope you are right," I said.

"I don't know if I'm right," he said, "but that's what I think."

"Do other people think so?" I asked.

"More and more," he said.

I headed off a few feet from him and he said, "It woke a lot of people up. Many that had not looked around them before."

His hand was beating the air again. He made a rumbling sound, deep in his throat. "And how it shook!" he said, pointing all around and vibrating his arms.

I was waving at him. The boy was waving back. "Travel with care," the old man yelled.

The Circle of Life — Living on top of the destruction

(This essay is adapted from a chapter in the just-published book by Stan Steiner, The Vanishing White Man, *now available from AKWESASNE NOTES in hard-cover edition at $12.50. Steiner is also the author of* The New Indians *and many other books about natural peoples.*

I have often since thought about that conversation. Man in his need to conquer the worlds of others loses his harmony with his own. And with himself. He may have thought he conquered the world, but the world may have conquered him.

Man in his conceited ignorance went so far beyond the limits of his meager knowledge of life that he unleashed forces that he neither understood nor could control. In the end, his own arrogance humbled him. And so the glory and triumph of his civilizations was what destroyed them.

The Circle of Life – man has one moment in it.

Is that enough?

Man is a small animal.

Civilizations rise and fall every few hundred years. The creations of man are very fragile. No matter how majestic his empires and sublime his visions of eternal cities and no matter how godly his sciences and religions, the works of man seem no more lasting than those of the smallest insects. Perhaps less so. The grasshoppers and butterflies of Rome have outlived the Caesars.

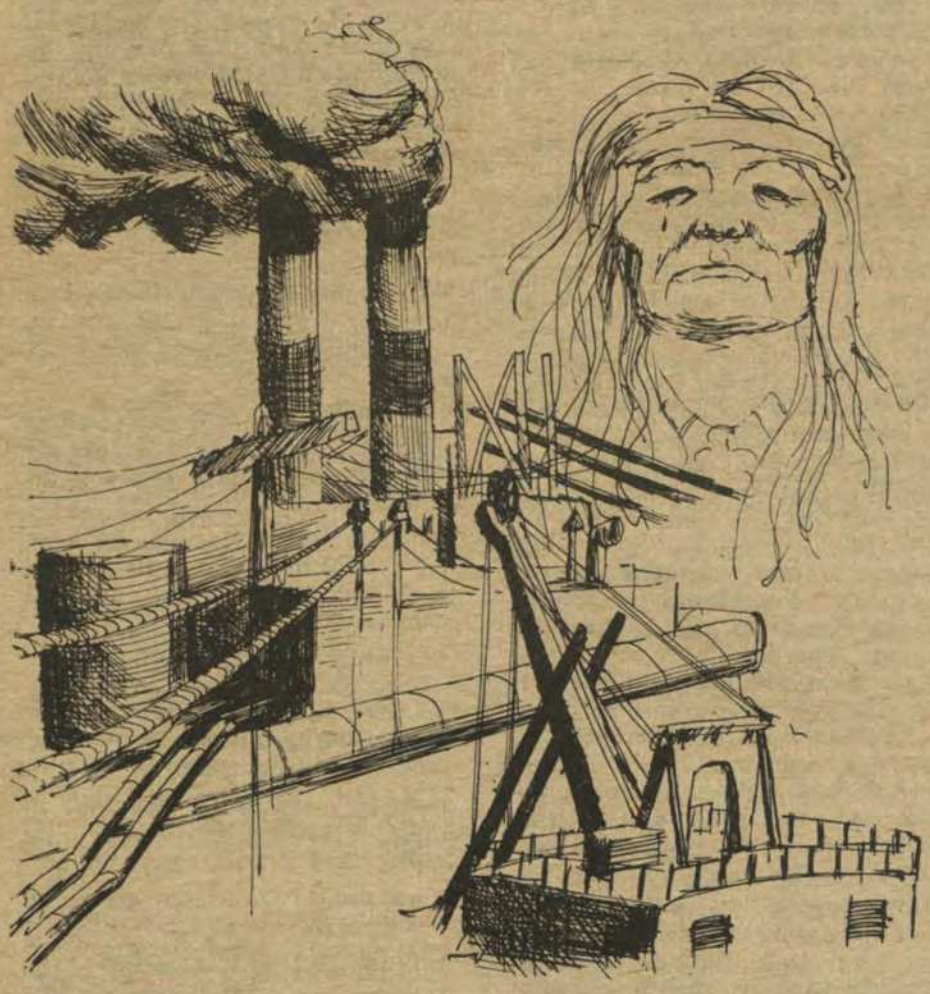
Although it seems that most civilizations know when their end has come, few of them seem to understand what they know. Fewer still accept what they understand.

In the uncut mountains of the harsh deserts of Chihuahua in northern Mexico, that land of Gran Chichimeca, there was a monument to the unwillingness of man to know what he sees – the city-states of Casa Grandes. One of these was built in about the year of 900 by the merchant princes of the Toltec or Aztec. It lasted for four hundred years, until about 1340, when its rulers abandoned the city, the people fled to the countryside, the downtown area decayed, the factories went bankrupt, and the civilization ended with a suddenness that is not wholly understood, even until this day.

The *Puchteca,* a Nahuatl word for merchants, had enticed rural and tribal peoples into the city, where they had lived in multi-storied urban housing projects, an unnatural environment for them. The master architects designed apartments for the people with built-in beds, stoves, windows, doors. So there was little for the people, who had always built their own environment, to do but work.

And so they worked. It has been said that this way of life, even then, seemed to destroy the family and moral structures. But while the merchant civilization grew, so the city grew.

And then the odd phenomenon began. The merchant city was an efficient and prosperous civilization that disintegrated because of its success.



And yet, though everyone knows that civilizations come and go, Western Man never seems to believe it will ever happen to him. He will last forever, he thinks. He believes he will be as eternal as the grasshopper.

The ruins of the Roman Empire and Mayan and Byzantine and Ottoman and Inca and Islamic and Egyptian and Ghanian and Spanish and Aztec and English and Grecian and Persian and the Mongolian civilization of the Great Khans are visible for all to see. It is heresy to say that the civilization of the white man of Western Europe, which has dominated much of the earth four-hundred years, is about to become just one more magnificent ruin. Not because it has failed to accomplish its goals, but because it has succeeded so well, its time on earth may be done.

On the great plaza, the three-story houses collapsed. The people who were mere tenants no longer even attempted to clean up the debris or the dead. Instead, they "lived on the top of the destruction".

So said the anthropologist Charles DiPeso, director of the Amerind Foundation in the Dragoon Mountains not far from Tucson, Arizona. His archeological teams had investigated the ruins of Casa Grandes. "The physical pressure should have caused mass psychological pressures, leading to self-destruction," he said, but it seemed they did not. "Pure physical collapse did not disrupt the continuation of the (merchant) art tradition". In fact, "There was no drop in art style."

It was as if the technologists and workers, the intellectuals and rulers of the Casa Grandes, blithely went on working until the last moment. No one knew that one morning in 1340, the city would be abandoned.

That often happened at the end of a civilization. In the 14th Century, when Europe's feudal era was about to die in the Black Plague and the Hundred Year's War, there was a similar phenomenon noted by the historian Barbara Tuchman: "In decadence, chivalry threw its brightest light. Never were its ceremonies more brilliant; its jousts and tournaments so brave; its apparel so splendid; its manners so gay and amorous; its entertainments so festive; its self-glorification so eloquent. The gentry elaborated the forms of chivalry *because* institutions around them were crumbling."

And so, the feudal knights of Europe, like the artisans of Casa Grande, may have been celebrating the birth of a new civilization on the ruins of a dying one, with ancestral rites of renewal.

So it may be that when a civilization dies, it does so not with a whimper, nor with a bang – but in a blaze of glory.

The Wake of a civilization in lamentations of its death may not be so different from that of a family, renewing birth in death with a spiritual exorcism and ecstacy of sensualism.

It was curious that the Black Plague doomed European fuedalism in 1347. That was at the very time the Casa Grandes collapsed, in the 1340s, in America. While halfway across the world, in China, the famine of 1342 began the deathpangs of the Empire of the great Kublai Khan.

Men have often written of times such as these in the Doomsday Books which depicted the end of their way of life, as though it was the end of the world. They see not the death of a civilization, but of civilization itself. In these conceits, the optimists and pessimists are mirror images – for both see man as a god, either creator or destroyer of life. He is neither. The common people may be humbler and wiser – but they have not written Doomsday Books. Nor do I know of any Doomsday Book that was ever written by a woman.

In our time, the cry of Armageddon is once more heard in the world. The gory scenes of apocalyptic disaster have become popular entertainments in which the *deus ex machinas* of doom were more and more often not a natural catastrophe, but a man-made creation, a skyscraper, an ocean liner, a huge passenger jet. And the Doomsday Books prolifigated not in religious prophecy, but in the fertile imaginations of white Malthusians and the unfrocked scientists who had lost faith in the man-Gods of science, and man himself.

"Man alone is a beautiful thing, but put him in a car, in a B-52 bomber, and the proportion of brain to brawn is very small," said George Wald, a Nobel Prize laureate in Medicine and Physiology, and Harvard professor of biology. "Man's lost control of brawn, you see, and he's sinking lower and lower at a phenomenal speed". In despairing of man's "lost control", Wald despaired for life. "we are on the brink of physical disaster. Things are going down the drain, fast."

In the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists,* a physicist, Bernard Feld, echoed the litany that had begun to sound like a eulogy for man's faith in his own accomplishments: "The world is entering upon perilous times, perhaps the most dangerous period in its entire history", for man would probably use his scientific technology to destroy his own civilization.

And some thought he had begun to do so: "Civilization is going downhill," said Lewis Mumford. "Our technology which we always hoped would be the means to make men happy and prosperous and give them more material possessions, is in imminent danger of doing just the opposite."

Even so perservering an optimist as Norman Cousins feared, "The evidence is strong that human society is in a stage of comprehensive breakdown. . ."

That was nothing less than the "breakdown of industrial civilization on the planet", said the author of *The Future Shock,* Alvin Toffler.

No wonder that anthropologist Leslie White believed, "We're on the brink of chaos, *now* . . ."

In the 14th Century, it had been the monks and priests who led the rebellion against feudal religions that they believed had failed God. And in the 20th Century, it was the scientists and intellectuals who led the rebellion against science that they knew had betrayed them. In dismay, the president of the



National Academy of Science, Philip Handler, had proclaimed with a tone of disbelief befitting an indignant Renaissance Pope, "We find science and technology under attack." There had been a "drastic decline in our national scientific endeavor," he said. And it was the scientists who were leading this "attack".

He was mistaken. It was not science as a way of learning that was "under attack", but the arrogance of men, among them, the men of science, who thought that they were as gods, beyond all earthly laws, and who, in attempting to control the earth, had broken the Circle of Life. It was their conceit that was threatening humanity.

Once a civilization that is built on a belief in man's ability to control life loses its faith in man's godliness, it has no other. "There is a feeling of helplessness," said George Wald, "for man controls the existence of all things," and man had "lost control". If there was no faith in the sun, the earth, the sky, the spirit, but in man alone, what happened when that was gone?

"If then, by the question: 'Is there hope for man?' we ask whether it is possible to meet the challenges of the future without the payment of a fearful price, the answer must be: 'There is no such hope'," the historian Robert Heilbroner wrote in *An Inquiry Into The Human Prospect.*

Prophecies of these men were strangely like those of the Old People. But there was one crucial difference. In the Old Peoples' prophecies. there was some

sorrow, but no sense of doom. There was always the knowledge of rebirth.

And so the Lakota wise man, Lame Deer, after telling of all the sorrows the white man brought his People, said this: "We Indians hold the pipe of peace. We must try to use the pipe for mankind, which is on the road to self-destruction. We must try to save the white man from himself."

And so the Hopi elders wrote to the President, Harry Truman, after he sanctioned the holocaust of Hiroshima: "What has become of your religion?" In spite of the "murderers and destroyers" the white man had become, and his "wild and reckless adventure, which we know will lead us to total ruin . . ." they appealed to him: "Let us make haste and set our house in order before it is too late. . ."

On the earth, there were some People who knew the turn of the Circle of Life was welcome, as it was inevitable, for they knew the civilizations of man were not eternal. They knew this because they had not forgotten the emergence of their ancestors from the earth. And so they remembered that they were part of the earth.

So they knew: the end of a civilization was not the end of life, but merely a way of life. The many civilizations of humans had risen and fallen often as did the civilizations of the earth and universe. The new ways of life developed new forms of life, and the new forms of life developed new forms of living.

And so they had no fear of this. The Four Worlds and the Four Directions where the Old People had journeyed before becoming human once had been dismissed as "Emergence Myths". Now the most famous white archeologists, the Leakeys, by the use of what was called scientific analysis, had confirmed what the Old People had said: the human animal had emerged from the mud of the earth not in one line of evolution, but in four directions: "Man's family tree has had four branches," it now was thought by the white man. And three of these had never become really human, as the "Emergence Myths" had so scientifically and patiently known for so long.

In the past, scientists were often "tempted to think patronizingly of the old philosophers and tribal wise men", Dorothy Vitaliano of the U.S. Geological Survey has written in *Legends of the Earth, Their Geological Origins.* The time has come to give "credit to the powers of observation of long-gone people," she said, for it may be that geology and mythology were more "interrelated" than white scientists had imagined. And the so-called myths of the Old People could be understood as "actual geological events that may have been witnessed by various groups of people."

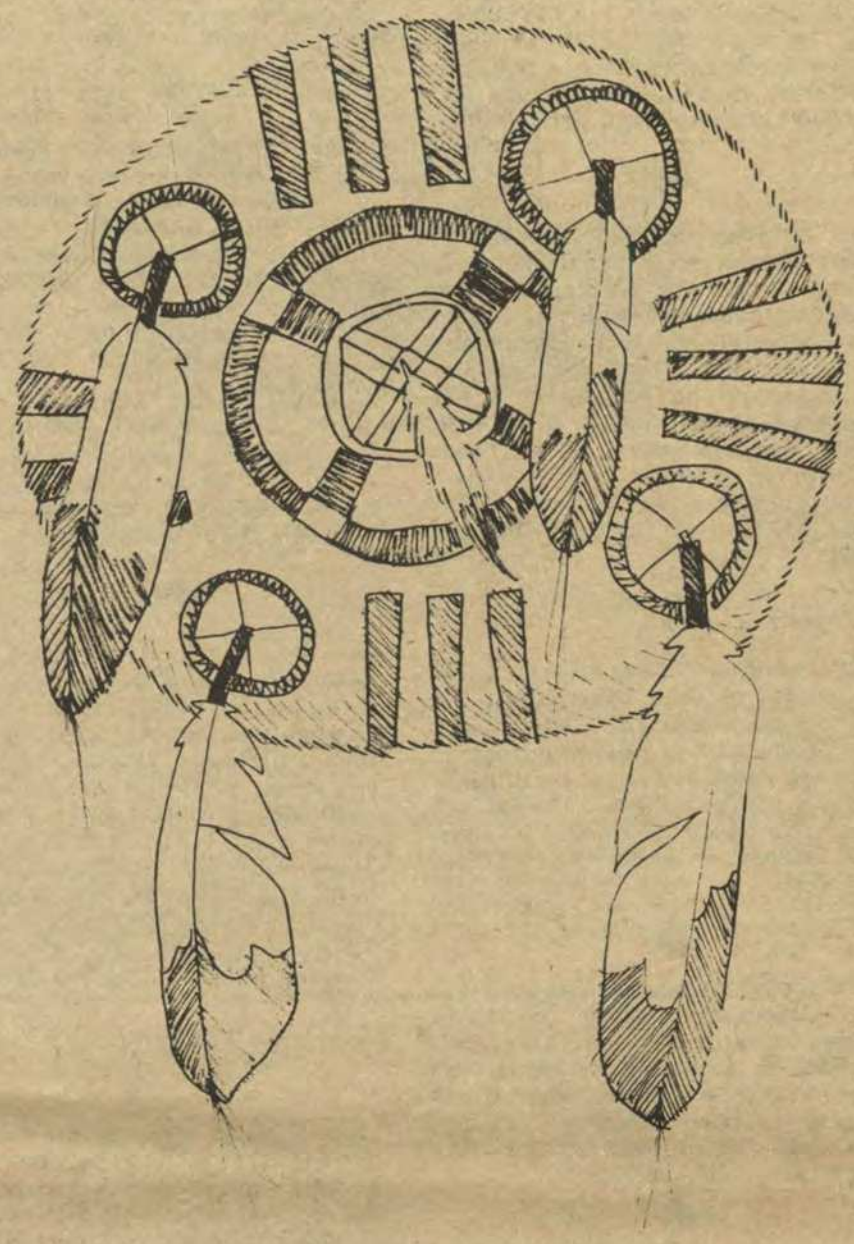
Not merely was this true of biblical floods, the creation of oceans and volcanic upheavals. The memory of tribal people go beyond the limits of the miniscule knowledge of science of detribalized people who have emasculated the root of their history and no longer remember their ancestors nor know their ancestral land.

To the mind of some, it may have seemed as though the Circle of Life was the perfect circle, easily knowable. It appeared neat and orderly. The processes of life seemed to fit perfectly into one another, as in a chemical formula. And so, the scientists imagined it as a food chain, a helix, a double helix, a spiral, the linear path of evolution where everything fit together with a beginning and an end. It was seen rising from the primeval swamps, from the fishes of slimy seas, from the lowly skulls of apes, to nature's "greatest achievement" – Man himself.

Was this so? The elders knew it differently.

Once the Circle of Life was endless. It began nowhere and it ended everywhere and it had no beginning and no ending. Where it turned, there it went. People too were that way. They went wherever life did. In the Gran Chichimeca, anthropologists had seen that in the ruins – civilizations rose and fell "in fits and starts, but seldom, if ever, in natural phase cycles." "An historical approach should never postulate a pure society or unmixed culture," for all life was part of all life. That meant, DiPeso said, "There was no break in the historical continuum, merely a change in exploitable actors" in "man's passage through time" and space.

And as it was in People, so it was with all things. The life of everything was shared by everything. Even the stones knew this.



Banyacya, the Hopi, said it this way: "Many of our Old People have told us that we received some gift or power that is in the animals, or birds." He himself had been given the name of corn and water. So these were part of him. "All living things of nature: birds, animals, plant life are sisters and brothers. We are taught we are related to everything around us. And when you become initiated into some of the ceremonies, you become a father to everything – people, family, birth, animal – they're all part of you."

"I'm sure that our Spiritual People are right in saying that somewhere all races of mankind are going to come back to spiritual things. And here you have that. We are ready to impart that knowledge to many nations and races of people in the hope that somebody in this world will understand – maybe. Our white brothers, who are with us – they don't understand it now. But later, something's going to happen.

"So, we follow the spiritual circle," he said.

The enduring wisdom of the Old People, with the serenity and humanity of its peaceful Armageddon, has become more and more sought after, as the technology of modern man seems less and less wise, and his deeds have become more and more violent and futile. And a profound search has begun for the knowledge of the ancients. The seekers come in larger pilgrimages every year.

These seekers had sensed not the end of civilization, but a new beginning. And so, in their search there was humility and in their despair there was hope.

In seeking to chart the future, the historian of *The Myth of the Machine,* Lewis Mumford had forecast a new "dark age". But "under the surface a new life may be knitting together," he said, "struggling still to find its way."

Where would it lead? He thought: our time "must be very much like what happened during the transition from the Roman civilization, which was highly organized and bent on the same ends as [Western] civilization – power! productivity! prestige! to the Christian era. The Christians formed into little bands. They began to withdraw from society and accepted poverty. They built a spiritual foundation for their life which gave them the internal strength to take over the Roman Empire."

Nowadays, too, there were little bands and tribes which were "the seedbed of the future", Mumford said. They were learning to live without destroying life, and by giving back to the earth the energy they had taken from the earth. It was "embarrassingly simple", Mumford said, to solve the "energy crisis" and to "save the earth".

The new quest was most surprisingly expressed by the honored historian of "Western Civilization", Arnold Lord Toynbee. In his monumental *A Study of History,* he had chronicled the rise and fall of twenty-one civilizations, in seven volumes. All of these had died or were dying, but one, his own "Western Civilization" which he immodestly hinted might be spiritually eternal. In a pontifical work, *Civilization on Trial,* Lord Toynbee wrote: ". . . if our secular Western Civilization perishes, Christianity may be expected not only to endure, but to grow in wisdom and stature as the result of a fresh experience of secular catastrophe."

And so, though "Western Civilization" may indeed end, that would intensify its spiritual strength, Toynbee thought. The faith of a generation ago!

People who might doubt this euphoric belief in white civilization, as did the Appalachian "mountain people", offered "the melancholy spectacle of a people who have acquired civilization and then lost it." These people, said Toynbee, were "no better than barbarians." And if they were white, they were "latter-day white barbarians".

That had been written in 1947. By 1974, Lord Toynbee no longer exalted the spiritual strength of "Western Civilization", nor did he foresee hope of its eternity. The "modern world's malady," now he declared, "is spiritual. We are suffering from having sold our souls to the pursuit of an objective that is both spiritually wrong and practically unattainable" and the "continuous increase in material wealth."

In words that had that sage tone of old men, the historian of "Western Civilization" spoke of all that he had seen and all that he had learned in the modern world. Lord Toynbee said, "Mankind is now waging what is, in effect, a Third World War. The belligerents, as usual, trying to justify themselves their inhuman treatment of their fellow human beings by hoisting ideological banners. The professed ideologies of opposing sides are intentionally incompatible with each other, but they are shams: there is no difference between the combatants' objectives, and no difference, either, in their behavior.

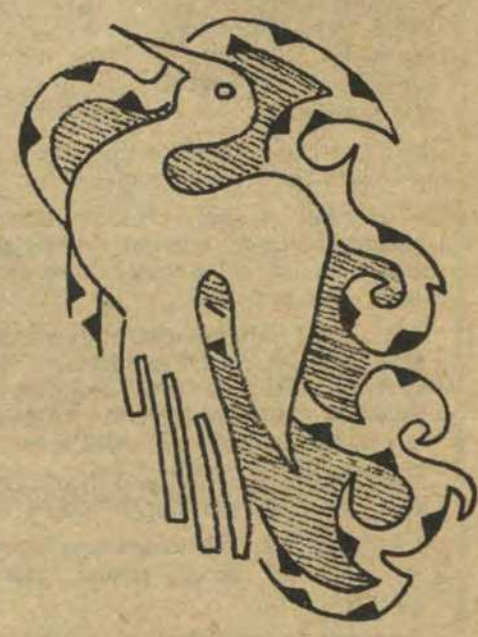
"The common objective is a continuous increase in material wealth. . ."

And, it was this that was "spiritually wrong and practically unattainable." It was a "deliberate rejection of the precepts of mankind's greatest seers, from the Buddha to St. Francis of Assisi. These precepts are unanimous. The seers have declared that the maximization of material wealth is not right, and therefore is not a satisfying objective for human beings.

On earth, there was one place and one People that offered hope, Lord Toynbee thought. These were in America:

"There is one surviving people, the Pueblo Indians, whose way of life is the antithesis of modern mechanized man. The Pueblo People, like the rest of us, are concerned to secure the material subsistence, but they are not concerned to maximize either their collective or individual wealth. The non-indigenous Americans and the Europeans and the Russians and the Japanese ought now to ask themselves which of these two ways of life is the happier and the better way: the Pueblo People's, or modern mechanized man's? In the modern world, who *is* free?

"Mankind's habitat is limited to the thin film of earth, air and water that coats the surface of our native planet. If mankind is to secure its survival on earth for as long as the earth's surface is going to remain habitable, we shall have to reduce our material life to a Pueblo-like stability. We shall have to renounce our present objective of maximizing (our) material wealth.



"The Pueblo People have invested (the earth's treasure) more providently, as the Buddha and St. Francis would say. Man does not live by bread alone. The simpletons and the seers are surely going to have the last word."

It may seem that Lord Toynbee, by his own definition, had become "a white barbarian".

* * * * *

CONTACTS

A Director of the American Indian Program is needed immediately at Harvard. For information, contact: Search Committee, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University, Longfellow Hall, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.

◆

Native people interested in a table for selling crafts in Xenia, Ohio, should contact Sandy Bostic, Manpower Office, 147 Hill St., Xenia, Ohio 45385 for information about monthly craft shows.

◆

An executive director is needed by a Utah native group to implement and coordinate programs – and to work harmoniously and effectively with values of the non-Indian community as well as the native community. Needed immediately. Contact: Utah Native American Consortium, Inc., Salt Lake Indian Center, 120 W. 1300 South Salt Lake City, Utah 84115 or call Frances Garcia at (801) 485-9204.

◆

Lakota Jim H., call Kingfisher urgent (415) 593-2802.



Doctoral social work fellowships are being offered to minority students interested in indigenous social work research. Selected individuals may attend graduate school of their choice with full tuition paid. Contact CSWE Minority Fellowship Program, Council on Social Work Education, 345 E. 46th St., New York, N.Y. 10017.

◆

Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College has two positions available in the Indian Social Work Education Program for professors of community development and planning, and of human relations. Contact: Myrna McCullock, Coordinator, ISWEP, SICC, POBox 3085, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan S7K 3S9.

The more intelligence agencies get involved in Indian Affairs, the greater the need for *Counterspy*, a magazine focused on the intelligence communities and its activities. A recent issue details covert activities against Third World Peoples under the FBI's counter-intelligence program, COINTELPRO. For a sample copy of the magazine, write Fifth Estate, POBox 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D.C. 20044 and enclose $1.50.

◆

An American Indian Festival will be held October 16 at the Garden State Arts Center with a stage program featuring native dancers, singers, and the internationally-known Pima trombonist, Russell "Big Chief" Moore. This program will be preceded by a free powwow at noon on the Arts Center mall. For information, contact Ticket Chairman, American Indian Festival, 756 Lorraine Drive, Cliffwood Beach, N.J. 07735 or call (201) 442-8600 ext. 222.

◆

Readers of the German language will be interested in Claus Biegert's Seit 200 Jahren ohne Verfassung: 1976 Indianer im Widerstand, *a paperback book in staunch defense of the causes of native people of North America. Available in Germany through Rowohlt, a publisher in Hamburg, or through AKWESASNE NOTES.*

◆

A California prison group has developed an "Information Packet" on treaty rights for native offenders. Other prison groups or supportive individuals can request a copy – enclose some cash – from Charles "Smokey" Ballard, Antelope Indian Circle POBox 790, Susanville, California 96130.

◆

Poetry, fiction, and drawings are sought for a special section in *The New Earth Review,* edited by Michael Largo, PO Box 323, Staten Island, N.Y. 10302.

Walker Valley Paiutes are looking for personnel for their Tribal Education Program. An Education Programs Director, a Project Director, an Editor, and a Materials Coordinator are sought for immediate employment. Contact: Walita Tom, Resource Center, POBox 190, Schurz, Nevada 89427 or call (702) 773-2282.

◆

Native linguists may be able to get small grants for research – preference is given to younger scholars. Amounts are $500-$800. Contact: Librarian, American Philosophical Society, 105 Fifth St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19106.

◆

Poems and short stories by native people and others can be submitted to a new prison publishing group operating inside the walls. Contact: Jimmie Osborne B65566 D-1102 POBox 2210, Susanville, California 96130.

◆

The Southwestern Indian Polytechnic Institute has started its fall quarter, and seeks native people in ten training programs: secretarial, marketing, accounting, lithography, commercial food preparation, drafting, civil engineering, electronics, optical technology, and telecommunications. SIPI is in Albuquerque, but applications should be made through tribal councils, agency offices, or contact SIPI, POBox 10146, Albuquerque, N.M. 87114 or call Rosemary Knoki at (505) 766-3551.

◆

The All Indian Development Association has been funded for another year by OMBE to provide free management and technical assistance to native people in southern Colorado or New Mexico who own businesses or want to start one. For information, contact AIDA at 2401 12th St. NW, Albuquerque, New Mexico 87102 or phone (505) 243-9773.

Native American Report is a public affairs feature aired every Saturday and Sunday at 10 a.m. on KMET, 94.7 FM, in Los Angeles. The program is edited by Julie Christensen, to whom announcements and news can be sent. Contact: Julie Christensen, POBox 46334, Los Angeles, California 90046, or telephone (213) 654-9891.



The School of Living has been working for three decades to influence U.S. people to move toward natural lifestyles. They are seeking additional people to study and work there, and they also publish a magazine, *Green Revolution*, [a sample copy is $1.] Contact: School of Living, Box 129, Route 1, Freeland, Maryland 21053.

◆

Descendants of Alaska natives who have wandered away from home may not have yet enrolled to receive their share in the Aiaskan Land Claims Settlement. Persons who think they might be eligible should contact Alaska Native Enrollment, Pouch 7-1971, Anchorage, Alaska 99510.

◆

Mississippi Choctaw Council is looking for a program assistant for the Follow Through Program and a business education teacher for the Adult Education Program. For information, contact Mavis Steve, Personnel Officer, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, Route 7, Box 21, Philadelphia, Mississippi 39350.

◆

A panel on "Power and Conspiracy in America: Who's In Control" wants native participation in this national symposium. It will be at the University of Nebraska from October 10 to 14. For further information, contact: Council of American Indian Students, University of Nebraska, Suite 200 Union Building, Lincoln, Nebraska 68508 or call Robert Garza at (402) 472-2591.

WHITE ROOTS OF PEACE/AKWESASNE NOTES TRAVEL PLANS ANNOUNCED: HELP IN SCHEDULING REQUESTED

People from White Roots of Peace are planning a trip for January/February into Texas, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Louisiana and Colorado.

A similar tour into eastern Quebec, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Maine New Hampshire, Vermont and Massachusetts, originally scheduled for this autumn, has been postponed until next April/May.

The exact composition of the travelling group is not yet known, but tentative plans call for:

– a group of native dancers from Mexico who present dance as spiritual celebration and active meditation, as well as energy & consciousness-raising experiences of beauty.

– a special exhibition of textiles made by native people of Guatemala, together with a marimba of native musicians. The beautiful hand-woven materials will be available for purchase, as well as viewing. Other native crafts will be available.

– workshops of native speakers discussing spirituality, native issues and struggle, history, social change. ways of natural living.

– a sale of books, posters, and educational materials.

– a social doings of Mohawk singing and dancing in which people are invited to participate in the natural ways.

– a film festival containing up to ten hours of movies about native peoples.

– a press conference with local media persons.

The group will visit various reservations, colleges, schools, and community groups for one-day meetings, excellent opportunities for the focusing of energy and attention in an area on native peoples and problems.



– photo by David Miller

Kahratohen, an Akwesasne Mohawk, travels with White Roots of Peace. With the help of his son, Sakowentetha and others of his family, he is the gardener in charge of producing the tons of potatoes, corn, squash, beans and other food eaten by Akwesasne Notes staff and visitors.



– AKWESASNE NOTES photo by Bob Wright

An Aztec Spiritual Dance Group accompanies White Roots of Peace in its travels

Persons and groups interested in having the group visit their campus or community are invited to inquire for more details. Local sponsors are asked to arrange publicity, locate financial support to cover costs of travel and for AKWESASNE NOTES publishing, and to provide facilities for the presentations and meetings.

For further information, about having White Roots of Peace/AKWESASNE NOTES visit your community or campus, please contact:

White Roots of Peace
Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683
telephone (518) 483-2540

OUR OWN PUBLICATIONS

Voices From Wounded Knee 1973



This is the story of the liberation of Wounded Knee in the words of the participants, culled from 100 hours of tape recorded while the occupation was in progress. It is accompanied by 200 photographs and several maps. This account is essential reading for anyone who wants to understand this episode of the struggle for human dignity and freedom in North America. Many colleges are now using it as a text. 282 large-sized pages, $4.95.

Indigena Pamphlet Series

[INDIGENA is an organization devoted to the causes of the native peoples of the Americas. As an information center, it works cooperatively with AKWESASNE NOTES in this series of pamphlets, as well as having its own publications available Write: INDIGENA, POBox 4073, Berkeley, California 94704.]

The Situation of Indian Peoples in Guatemala
A clear explanation of agrarian exploitation, political domination, and ideological oppression of the native Mayan population by foreign interests, and people of their own heritage who have taken another path. 25 cents.

Tiahuanacu Manifesto
Proclaimed by the native people of Bolivia. Speaks of the importance of Quechua and Aymara cultures today, of their view of the Spanish Conquest, and of the current economic situation. Demands for new leadership and better education in rural areas. A people's voice well spoken. 25 cents.

The Indian Situation in Brazil Today
An outline of the genocidal war being waged against the native people of the Amazon. The destruction of communities is documented. 25 cents.

The Rights of Indigenous Women in Colombia
A strong statement by native women, made in the 1920s. Like the others in this series, this pamphlet is illustrated by Miguel Sague. This is not a dry legal statement, but a stirring, strong, emotional manifesto. 25 cents.

Six Nations Indian Museum Series

[The Six Nations Museum is at Onchiota, New York, where from Memorial Day until Labor Day each year, thousands of persons get a better understanding of the Iroquois heritage and way of life. The museum is owned by Tehanetorens, also known as Ray Fadden, Mohawk Wolf Clan. Most of the pamphlets in this series were issued by the Akwesasne Mohawk Counselor Organization, and have been redesigned and reprinted by AKWESASNE NOTES.]

The Great Law of Peace
This is the Constitution of the Iroquois Confederacy, portions of which were adopted in the U.S. Constitution. It is a statement of morals, spiritual belief, and government which is 1,000 years old – and which remains valid for use today. 84 pages, paperbound, illustrated by Kahonhes. $1.00.

The Migration of the Iroquois
Pictographic writing and text in English, with handsome drawings of Iroquois life by Kahonhes, detailing a chapter of North American history – how the Iroquois migrated from the west to the northeast. Newly reprinted, 75 cents.

Conservation
A short booklet explaining what happened to the Natural World here in North America from the native viewpoint – and what needs to happen now. Pictographic writing and text. For children and schools, 15 cents.

Deskaheh
A new book in this series, detailing the life of the Cayuga statesman who went to the League of Nations in Switzerland in the 1920s to present the case of sovereignty for the Iroquois peoples. He was exiled from Canada, and died in the U.S. His last famous speech is reprinted. Illustrated by Kahonhes. 50 cents.

STAMPS



200 Years of Resistance Stamps
A sheet of 24 stamps, printed in two colors, for $1.00 as a means of raising money for AKWESASNE NOTES at the same time you raise consciousness about native people and the Bicentennial Year. The stamps are on paper that sticks when moistened for use on letters and in public places as mini-reminders. Sheets are perforated. Groups wishing to sell the stamps as fund-raisers can obtain 100 sheets for $50 with payment made in advance.

Wounded Knee Stamps
These stamps are minatures of poster number 3. These are also $1 a sheet.

A Message To All People: Hopi
The Hopi Prophecy is important to all peoples today, for as we understand what has happened to human life in previous worlds, and in the days following the Creation of this one, we can better understand what we human beings need to do today. A different sort of history from that in the textbooks. This new edition is in newly-set type, illustrated by Kahonhes. $1.00

Native Colours
A book of poetry by Karoniaktatie, covering the years of his life when he was sent out to an Eastern prep school until his return to his people and his beginning to understand the meaning of the Old Ways. Beautifully designed, illustrated, and written by the poet – a colorful presentation. 88 pages, $2.50.

Note Cards from the 50th Issue Cover
A packet of 20 attractive note cards with a reproduction of the cover art for the 50th issue on one page, with three pages blank. 3" x 4". Envelopes are not included, but ordinary envelopes can be used. Only $1 plus 25 cents shipping.

JUST RELEASED!!

TALES OF THE IROQUOIS



by tehanetorens

This attractive collection of fifteen teaching legends of the Iroquois is part of the Six Nations Indian Museum Series published by AKWESASNE NOTES. The book is 99 pages, softbound cover, with striking illustrations by Kahonhes. The tales are as Tehanetorens remembers them being told to him. For many of them, along with the text, are pictographs which tell the story – and aid non-readers in remembering the story. *Tales of the Iroquois* is a unique gift for children or adults and is excellent for use in classrooms. ISBN 0-914838-14-8. $2.50.

BUTTONS



200 Years of Resistance Button
An eye-catching 2" pin of the above design, as an answer to the Bicentennial celebrations. 75 cents each, postpaid. Groups wishing to sell the pins as fund-raisers can obtain 100 for $37.50 – but payment must be included with the order.

When you make your order, please add a small amount to cover the costs of postage & shipping . . .

and if you'll add another dollar or two to buy a book for a prisoner, we'll match it with the same –

Thanks for helping.

BEST OF AKWESASNE NOTES SERIES

[AKWESASNE NOTES' first fifty issues contained almost 2400 pages of articles, essays, and information about native and natural peoples. Only a third of those issues are still in print. So that information of continuing value remains available for study and discussion, this series reprints some of the outstanding articles which have appeared in NOTES.]

1. How Democracy Came to St. Regis & The Thunderwater Movement

Two historical articles by Rarihokwats, using data from Indian Affairs archives to detail how the bureaucracy deliberately thwarts and destroys native movements trying to help their people. 24 pages. 75 cents.

Chimbarazzo

Poet John Brandi and two companions were employed in Ecuador for a time on a land-reform project high in the mountains. There they recorded their own thoughts and experiences, translated into English the taped accounts of native people describing their own thoughts and experiences, some of which have been rendered into poetry by Brandi – and with photographs. Through it all are the brutal realities of daily life and survival, and yet through it all too is the indominable spirit of the people. This book will have a widely-varied appeal: poets, anthropologists, students of Latin America, native people and other human beings will want to utilize this opportunity to comprehend life in this remote corner of the earth. $2.50.

BOOKS



NEW OFFERINGS

THE CODEX NUTTALL. A picture manuscript from ancient Mexico. 86 full-color plates with text by Arthur G. Miller. $7.50.

COLOR TREASURY OF HERBS AND OTHER MEDICINAL PLANTS. The power of plants and how that power can be harvested and utilized. A fine text, glossary, and 104 exquisitly beautiful color photos. $1.98.

450 YEARS OF CHICANO HISTORY IN PICTURES. A tribute to the survival of the people and culture in their resistance to being colonized. The movement today, and the strength and beauty of the women. Hundreds of photos and bilingual text. $4.95.

GREAT LAKES INDIANS: A Pictorial Guide by William J. Kubiak. The native peoples of the Great Lakes – Algonquian, Iroquoian and Siouan – as they dressed, hunted, ate and fought. Hardcover, $7.98.

LAKOTA-ENGLISH DICTIONARY by Buechel. Lakota dialect of the Teton Sioux. Listing by Lakota-English, English-Lakota cross reference. 852 pages. $9.00.

THE MAPOON STORY ACCORDING TO THE INVADERS. The Aboriginal people of Australia – what the Government and missionaries did to destroy their culture and permit the mining companies to do their thing. Australia, they're not your natives any more, either. $1.80.

MY FRIEND, THE INDIAN. Sold only as a historical statement of the Indian agent whose edicts led to the murder of Sitting Bull and great losses to "My Friend, The Indian." X-rated for bias-proofed readers. $5.98.

SITTING ON THE BLUE-EYED BEAR: Navajo Legends. A delightful hardcover collection for children of all ages. $8.50.

SUN TRACKS: An American Indian Literary Magazine. Poems, pictures and four Papago stories. Vol 2., No. 1. $2.00.

SUN TRACKS vol 2., no. 2. Poems – two by Simon J. Ortiz – stories, beautiful photos and a conversation with N. Scott Momaday. $2.00

THE TALL CANDLE: The Personal Chronicle Of A Yaqui Indian. The reminiscences of Rosalio Moises, who lived from 1896 to 1969. Hardcover only, $10.95.

AZTEC CALENDAR: A Large Poster rich in color of the Aztec calendar stone, painted by Stan Vieho-Padilla. Beautiful, and highly recommended for display. Sent in a mailing tube for $3.50.

NEW ALBUMS FOR YOUR ENJOYMENT

AS LONG AS THE GRASS SHALL GROW. Peter LaFarge sings of Custer, Damn Redskins, Coyote, Take Back Your Atom Bomb, and nine more songs. $6.00. LP-album only.

AUTHENTIC MUSIC OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN. Three LP records of war dances, honor songs, social songs, folk songs, ceremonial songs and chants. All for $5.98. LP-albums only.

(Following are available in 8-track, cassette, and LP Album)

SONGS AND STORIES FROM NEAH BAY. Songs in Makah, stories in English: The Lazy Little Girl, The Too-Proud Elk, The Curious Deer, The Repentant Boy, five others. $6.00.

XINACHTLI DANZAS DE CONQUISTA. An album from Mexico of the ancient songs sung with accompaniment of conch-shelled instruments and ankle-rattles. From the Battles of Flowers and Songs. For those who can't see the tremendous dances, the album is next best. $5.00. LP album only.

FLOYD WESTERMAN. The ever-popular "Custer Died For Your Sins" album, once hard-to-get and now back in stock. $6.00.

* * * * *

NOW AVAILABLE IN PAPERBACK

THE GHOST-DANCE RELIGION AND WOUNDED KNEE by James Mooney. An extremely detailed account of the Ghost Dance Religon, its songs, dances, ceremonies and social impact. Originally published in 1896 with data that cannot be superseded. Illustrated. $6.00.

For the fires grow cold and
the dances fail
and the songs in their
echoes die;
And what we have left but the
graves beneath
And above, the waiting sky?

– The Song of the Ancient People
quoted in "The Ghose Dance Religion"

LITERATURE OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN by Thomas E. Sanders & Walter Peek. An excellent collection of tales, orations, poetry, articles, and proclamations. Good for high school and college texts as well as plain good reading. $4.95.

SON OF RAVEN, SON OF DEER by George Clutesi. Fables of the Tse-Shaht People. Good for children and adults. $2.95.

Native Rights, Native Resistance

ALCATRAZ IS NOT AN ISLAND by Indians of All Tribes. Poetry, essays, paintings, and the feelings of the historic occupation. 105 pages, $3.95.

BEHIND THE TRAIL OF BROKEN TREATIES: An Indian Declaration of Independence by Vine Deloria, Jr. The Twenty Points of the Trail of Broken Treaties raise significant questions about the position of native nations in North America. $2.95.

BURY MY HEART AT WOUNDED KNEE by Dee Brown. The true story that your history books didn't tell you of how the West was lost. $1.95.

CUSTER DIED FOR YOUR SINS: An Indian Manifesto by Vine Deloria, Jr. A statement on the native situation, internal and external problems, government policies, missionaries, anthros, told with perception and wit. $1.50.

. . . United States troops besieged the reservation and Red Bird surrendered himself in agreement that his people would suffer no further deaths. In immaculate white buckskins decorated with two small stuffed cardinals on his shoulders, he walked out to meet the Government troops. As he walked, he sang his death song.

THE DEATH SONG OF RED BIRD

I am ready.
I do not want to be put in chains.
Let me be free.
I have given away my life –

(Stooping, he picked up a pinch of dust and blew it away.)

It is gone like that!
I would not take it back.
It is gone.

– Literature of the American Indian

DISINHERITED: The Lost Birthright of the American Indian by Dale Van Every. The story of the U.S. Government's dispersal of the native peoples of the Southeast and the white people who strove to prevent this horrendous deed. $1.25.

THE INDIAN IN AMERICA'S PAST, edited by Jack D. Forbes. Using varied sources, Jack Forbes recalls five centuries of slavery, injustice, devastating cruelty in one of the most brutal examples of ethnic confrontation in human history. Also records problems faced by Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and Canadian Metis. $2.95.

NATIVE AMERICANS by William Meyer. Historical resistance of the native people yesterday and today. A counter-balance to history class. $1.50.

NATIVE RIGHTS IN CANADA (Second Edition) edited by Peter Cumming and Neil Mickenberg. A legal study challenging many historical assumptions, offering both Canadian and American-side legal workers new ideas. 346 pages, paperbound, $7.95.

THE NEW INDIANS by Stan Steiner. The survival of the old Indian and the emergence of the New are told in their own words. The report of the "Red Power" revolt against a destructive culture. $2.65.

OJIBWAY WARRIORS' SOCIETY IN OCCUPIED ANICINABE PARK, Kenora, Ontario, August, 1974. A pamphlet including the manifesto and demands of the Native Peoples' Caravan. 50 cents.

RED POWER: American Indians' Fight for Freedom. Documentation of the current struggles through 1970. A collection by Alvin Josephy, Jr. $2.95.

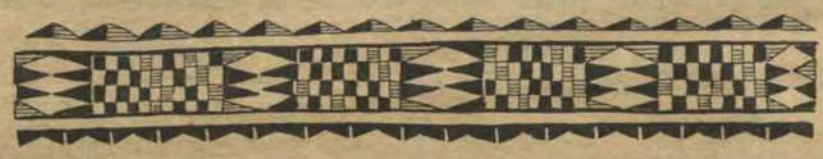
THE ROAD TO WOUNDED KNEE by Robert Burnette and John Koster. All that led up to Wounded Knee: the BIA schools, health care, law and disorder, tribal government corruption, the Trail of Broken Treaties. Contains the Sioux Treaty of 1868. 32 pages of photos. $1.95.

UNJUST SOCIETY by Harold Cardinal. A manifesto for the native people of Canada by a young Cree leader. Discusses the Indian Act, and what needs to be done for liberation of native peoples. $2.95.

WOUNDED KNEE by Dee Brown. Adapted for young readers from Bury My Heart At Wounded Knee. $1.50.

TO DIE GAME: The Story of the Lowry Band, Indian Guerrillas of Reconstruction, by W. McKee Evans. Guerrilla warfare against the Ku Klux Klan and the political establishment of North Carolina after the War Between the States. Hardcover only, $8.95.

TO SERVE THE DEVIL, Volume 1: A Documentary Analysis of America's Racial History and Why It Has Been Kept Hidden, by Paul Jacobs and Saul Landau. A devastating tracing of the impact of racism in U.S. policies and power. 360 pages, $2.95.



THE IROQUOIS

APOLOGIES TO THE IROQUOIS by Edmund Wilson. A white writer's impressions of Longhouse People he contacted in the 1950s, showing the roots of current thought and activism. 300 p., $2.95.

DEATH AND REBIRTH OF THE SENECA NATION by Anthony F.C. Wallace. About the renaissance of a people – a clear, deep historical book about religious and cultural Iroquois life. 337 p., $3.95.

FIGHTING TUSCARORA by Chief Clinton Rickard. The autobiography of the Tuscarora leader of this century, founder of the Indian Defense League of America. Photos, hardcover only. $10.50.

IROQUOIS CEREMONIAL OF MIDWINTER by Elizabeth Tooker. Although the author approaches the ceremony as if writing a cookbook, there is valuable information around which readers can instill the proper spirit. Hardcover, 179 p., $7.50.

THE IROQUOIS by Frank G. Speck. A brief but excellent summary of Iroquois culture. Excellent photographs of Iroquois crafts. 95 pages, $2.00.

PARKER ON THE IROQUOIS: Collected Work of Arthur C. Parker, edited by Wm. Fenton. Contains Iroquois Uses of Maize and Other Food Plants; The Code of Handsome Lake; The Constitution of the Five Nations. A valuable reference work. 296 p., $4.95.

HISTORY OF THE FIVE INDIAN NATIONS by Cadwallader Colden (1727). Fascinating but difficult reading by a colonial scholar discussing religion, manners, customs, laws and forms of government of the Iroquois some two centuries ago. 181 p., $2.45.

GREAT TREE AND THE LONGHOUSE by Hazel Hartzberg. A somewhat anthropological but pleasant book for junior and senior high ages about the Iroquois. $3.75.

THE TUSCARORAS by Shirley Hill Witt. A slim volume of the forced migration of a nation from North Carolina to Iroquois country. Legends, tribal history, clans & chiefs. Hardcover only, $4.95.

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS by Lewis Henry Morgan. Originally published in 1859, it is still considered by many the best general book on the Iroquois. $4.95.

THE IROQUOIS IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION by Barbara Graymount. Although this is still history told from a non-Indian perspective, there is interesting data in this scholarly work. 296 p., Hardcover, $ 13.00, softcover at $5.75.

WILDERNESS MESSIAH. An easy-to-read account of the founding of the Great Law of Peace and the Iroquois Confederacy. $1.98.

SEE ALSO THE LIST OF IROQUOIS BOOKS PUBLISHED BY AKWESASNE NOTES (on "Our Own Publications" page.)



TREATIES & LAWS

TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS Of The United States of America With Indian Nations. Compiled by Kappler, this book is useful for attorneys and libraries. Contains the text of every broken treaty. $75.00.

TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS OF THE CHIPPEWA INDIANS (from the above book). $5.00.

TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS OF THE GREAT LAKES REGION (from the above book). $5.00.

TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST (from the above book). $5.00.

TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS and the Proceedings of the Treaties and Agreements of the Tribes and Bands of the Sioux Nation. A compilation of Lakota treaties from the above book. $5.00.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS MADE BY INDIAN TRIBES WITH THE UNITED STATES. For researchers, a handy reference. 30 pages, $3.00.

TAXING THOSE THEY FOUND HERE: An Examination of the Tax-Exempt Status of the American Indian by Jay Vincent White. $6.00. Hardcover.

HANDBOOK OF FEDERAL INDIAN LAW by Felix S. Cohen. The unexpurgated 1939 edition. A heavy technical volume for libraries, tribal councils, and attorneys. $25.00.

UNCOMMON CONTROVERSY: Fishing Rights of the Muckleshoot, Puyallup, and Nisqually Indians. A report prepared for the American Friends Service Committee, with an introduction by Walter Taylor. $2.95.

LAW AND THE AMERICAN INDIAN by Monroe E. Price. Chapters on Sovereignty and the Flow of Power, Concepts of Property in Federal Indian Law, Strengthening Tribal Government. Readings, notes, cases. Hardcover, $16.50.

RED MAN'S LAND – WHITE MAN'S LAW by Wilcomb Washburn. How "the inability of the white man to understand the Indian point of view has shaped the whole sorry legal history of the Indian in America," says The Baltimore Sun. An important book and an exceptional buy at only $1.00.

ONE HUNDRED MILLION ACRES by Kirke Kickingbird and Karen Ducheneaux. Foreward by Vine Deloria, Jr. "One of the best explanations of the legal status of native lands. A perceptive analysis of how the Indians lost their land." Library Journal. $6.95.

MEDICINE

WILD EDIBLE FRUITS AND BERRIES by Marjorie Furlong and Virginia Pill. A little gem of a book with beautiful color photographs. Some recipes are included. 62 pages. $3.95.

HERBOLOGY OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN. The ultimate in herb books – a must for the serious pursuit of health. Hardcover, $11.00.

TEACHINGS OF NATURE. Edible plants, medicines, growing of crops, farming methods, among the various nations of native peoples. Names and ways of birds, animals, seasons and divisions of time. 8½x11. A Good Medicine Book. $3.50.

EARTH MEDICINE/EARTH FOODS by Michael A. Weiner. Plant remedies, drugs, and natural foods of the native people of North America. $4.95.

HOW INDIANS USE WILD PLANTS FOR FOOD, MEDICINE, AND CRAFTS by Frances Densmore. Nearly 200 plants used by the Chippewa for sugar, seasonings, dyes, toys, baskets & bows. $2.50.

ETHNOBOTANY OF WESTERN WASHINGTON: The Knowledge and Use of Indigenous Plants By Native Americans, by Erna Gunther. 70 pages, $2.95.

CHEROKEE PLANTS AND THEIR USES. A 400-year history by Hamel & Chiltoskey. $1.50.

NATURAL DESIGN

AMERICAN INDIAN DESIGN AND DECORATION by Leroy Appleton. A valuable collection of timeless design ideas from native people of the Americas. More than 700 drawings, plus full text on culture & tradition. 79 plates, 4 in color. $4.50.

AMERICAN INDIAN NEEDLEPOINT DESIGNS for Pillows, Belts, Handbags and Other Projects, by Roslyn Epstein. Grid-backing makes designs easily transferrable to canvas – handy for beadwork design too. 37 designs. $1.50.

AUTHENTIC INDIAN DESIGNS edited by Maria Naylor. 2500 illustrations from Reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology. 3000 years of native American design from all over Turtle Island. $5.00.

DESIGNS FROM ANCIENT MEXICO by Jorge Encisco. 153 p. A display of native decorative ingenuity. $2.50.

DESIGNS FROM PRE-COLUMBIAN MEXICO by Jorge Encisco. 300 designs, 105 p. A treasury of unique designs found on malacates. $2.00.

DESIGNS ON PREHISTORIC HOPI POTTERY by Jesse W. Fewkes. Sikyatki and its pottery: artifacts formed before contamination with Spanish and other elements, of the symbols that tell us of the past. 67 plates, 195 text illustrations. $3.50.

FULL-COLOR AMERICAN INDIAN DESIGNS FOR NEEDLEPOINT RUGS by Dorothy Story. 32 motifs from the Plains and Southwest, charted for easy use. $2.00.

RESOURCES

WHOLESALE CRAFTS

Mohawk basketmakers keep turning out fine baskets of many sizes and shapes, using black ash splint and sweetgrass, local materials. Basketmaking is one of many old and useful traditions among the native people that has survived into today, and may help us to survive into tomorrow. Some of the designs go into the distant past: the pack-basket, corn-washing basket, storage baskets. Others are more fancy: sewing baskets, kettle baskets, pin-cushions, strawberry baskets. They range in size from the tiny thimble basket to the 24"-high packbasket.

There is also beadwork: nice earrings, necklaces, hair-ties, chokers and others. Leatherwork is limited, but sometimes is available.

Most are one-of-a-kind items too difficult to catalog. While we can fill some individual orders, we highly recommend the crafts on a discount basis for fund-raising for a church bazaar, powwow, trading post, coffee party, etc. Order a 30-day consignment. It will have a retail price tag of $133, and you will be billed for $100 plus shipping. Before the end of 30 days, you can return any unsold items and pay for those sold. Paid-for unsold items can be returned for full credit or refund at anytime.

Order from:

Kaientares
AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683

INDIAN TOBACCO

KINNI-KINNICK – blends of herbal ingredients and fine tobaccos – is available from AKWESASNE NOTES. It is mixed, packed, and shipped at Akwesasne. There is a brochure on the six available blends, but the best way to try it is to order 2-ounce samplers. They are $1.15 each, or 3 for $3.15, postpaid. Test them out to find a favorite for re-ordering in ¼-pound or ½-pound pouches.

Each blend of KINNI-KINNICK is representative of the old mixtures for social smoking. The blends we have:

Eastern Woodlands
Thousand Campfires
Old Chippewa Straight
Mohawk
Western Plains
Northwest Coast

One blend, Old Chippewa Straight, contains no tobaccos – just barks, roots, leaves, herbs. Great for people who can't quite quit smoking.

For tobacco shops, commercial outlets, or for fund raising by groups, we suggest a sample shipment of six two-ounce pouches of each of the six blends for $25 postpaid. That's a 1/3 discount. Returns permitted anytime.

Order from:

Kaherahare
AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683

TAPES

The tapes listed in this column are part of a series for schools, discussion groups, tape libraries, radio and individuals. The series is always being updated, added to, and this list is mostly new additions.

Prices are for reel-to-reel tape at 3-3/4 ips, or on cassette or cartridge. (please specify!) Institutions are expected to pay full price, but individuals and those who can't afford more can pay half-price.

15 minutes – $5.00 30 minutes – $7.00
45 minutes – $8.50 60 minutes – $10.00 90 minutes – $11.00

Old Favorites Still Strong

GOD IS RED: A Talk by Vine Deloria, Jr. on the necessity of native religious values for the native American movement and the future of North America. 30 minutes.

ALCATRAZ IS NOT AN ISLAND. The words of Richard Oakes, in May, 1970, foreseeing the reclamation of much Indian land. 30 minutes.

ASSAULT ON OGLALA. Interviews by telephone of residents of Pine Ridge immediately after the killing of the two FBI agents and Little Joe Stuntz on June 26, 1975. 90 minutes.

THREE MESSAGES BY RAY FADDEN. History of the Iroquois Confederacy; Contribution of Native Peoples; Stereotypes & Problems. By the owner of the Six Nations Museum. Excellent for schools. 45 minutes.

POETRY OF GARY SNYDER. A long-time spokesman for the natural world reads selections from his book, "Turtle Island", the 1975 Pulitzer Prize in poetry. 60 minutes.

BUFFY STE. MARIE. Conversation with Bernelda Wheeler stressing the importance of each person finding her/his own way in the native world. 15 minutes.

JOHN TRUDELL: ON COMMITMENT. A call for native people to get it all together and to participate in the struggles against oppression, by a leader of the American Indian Movement. 15 minutes.

STOKELY, AIM, AND YOU. A recording of introductions by William Kunstler and Russell Means, and a speech by Stokeley Carmichael on the meaning of revolution and the relationship between the Third World and the native peoples of North America. 60 minutes.

GANIENKEH. On May 13, 1974, warriors, women, and children from the Mohawk Nation at Kanawake returned to their traditional hunting grounds in the Adirondack Mountains to re-establish a community and nationland. The community still thrives. Interviews with its members. 60 minutes.

RUSSELL MEANS TALKS. About the AIM patrol in Minneapolis which got the organization underway; AIM's relations to the church, and AIM's spiritual foundation. 30 minutes.

50th Issue Special Poster
Printed in four colors
$1 (no. 28)



28. Splinters of the Tree – four colors)

POSTERS



2 *Chief Joseph*



3 *Wounded Knee*



5 *Zuni Governor*



6 *Sitting Bull*



7 *Three Sisters*



8 *Grandma Hunter*



9 *Poundmaker*



10 *Shackled Native*



11 *Family Portrait*



12 *Three Horsemen*



13 *Fire Carrier*



15 *Dan Katchongva*



16 *Our Ideas*



17 *Statue of Liberty*



18 *Signs of the Times*



19 *Flathead Chief*



20 *Rush Gatherer*



21 *Bear-Belly*



22 *Campesinos*



23 *Wintu Woman*



24 *Shrine of Hypocrisy*



25. Circle of Life



26. Crow Dog



27. Blackfoot Chief

29. The Things That Are Ours



Ganienkeh Poster

In each issue of AKWESASNE NOTES, there is a centerfold poster. The entire series is available printed on heavy poster paper of various colors. They are 17 x 22 inches. Any combination of posters is available at 3 for $1 or 50 cents each, plus 25 cents for a carboard mailing tube. One poster, "Splinters of the Tree" (28) is in four colors and is $1 each. We reserve the right to substitute in selections of posters when we are out of stock. The posters are also excellent fund-raising items for schools, groups, fairs, powwows – 100 can be shipped, an assortment, for $25. Order from: AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683.

:LETTERS:

Warm Springs Tribal Rights

NOTES: We circulated a petition to request a referendum so that all tribal members could vote whether they wanted to retain the law firm of Panner, Johnson, Marceau, Karnopp & Kennedy of Bend, Oregon. According to the tribal constitution, one-fifth of the voting members can call for a referendum. There are less than 900 voting members which means 180 signatures can ask for a referendum. Within two weeks, there were 220 signatures on the petition. We felt the law firm was getting paid too much and that many tribal members are not pleased with the legal service provided by the law firm.

April 26, the petition was presented to the tribal council. On May 4, another council meeting was held. When I asked when the referendum would be held, Zane Jackson, chairman of the tribal council, replied that there would be no referendum. No reasons were given. The BIA Superintendent, Cornett was present and said nothing. The attorneys were present, getting $110 an hour.

The whole idea of a referendum is rendered useless. If Dennis Banks thinks there are problems on the Sioux Reservation, he ought to look into Warm Springs. The psychological and political destruction of Warm Springs Indians is equally as harmful.

Pat Gold
Portland, Oregon

Being Part Of The Change

NOTES: There are so many people who will not say anything — only want to be left alone. It's a cool way to be, but if people got up and started talking and taking action, things might happen. Things are changing, and I want to be part of this change. I want to help as many people as I can.

Lalah Jacko
Flint, Michigan

Show Me The Way Back Home

PEOPLE: I am so happy to be able to read your words of the Truth and the Way to *Harmony! You have spiritually and physically* inspired my life! Thank you! Your words came to me when I greatly needed them — which is the Beautiful Way of the Great Spirit! I pour out my heart with thanks to your Grandfathers and to our Creator!

Sister Becky
Solana Beach, California

Please Make It Stop!

NOTES: I do not owe you one cent.

I did not subscribe for this paper.

I do not want this paper.

I do not read this paper.

It is too radical and biased for me.

There is no excuse for destruction of property.

There is no excuse for lazy non-working leaders.

STOP the paper.

Mrs. Peter Monserud
Spearfish, South Dakota

The Antique Atomic Paradise

NOTES: I have been assigned the responsibility of maintaining the ancient legends of the antique atomic paradise of native and natural tribal and clan history dedicated to the Great Spirit Manitou whose government is now restoring the promised Indian happy hunting grounds via modern science and technology, including the electronic anima worship of the Great Creator.

People of the Longhouse, Noble Savage descendents of the Lemurian Shangri La atomic paradise of Asia, it is time for you to be returned to your original nobility. I shall be glad to entertain any ideas you may have or need.

R.B. MacKenna
Chicago Heights, Illinois

Africans Follow Struggle Here

NOTES: Having lived under colonial rule for so long, the African people are very much interested in the plight of the native American. NOTES is read here by many people — even the European community is very interested in what is really happening there.

Janet Mwangale
Kitale, Kenya, East Africa

A Letter from Grandmother

FRIENDS: I am 82 years old, a retired early-elementary school teacher, and a widow. My husband died three years ago — we lived together for 57 years, through good times and bad, wars, depressions, and hard work on our small farm of 40 acres. We have been in sympathy with those who have suffered at the hands of the ignorant, whether in government, in church, in business or in the barber shop. The Indian has suffered most, and still is.

But no one know but the Great Spirit himself what may come out of this. It is part of the molding of a race of people that will be the strength of a new generation. All the world is sensing a change, toward more honesty, more faith.

Enclosed is a check to keep the NOTES rolling — my deep appreciation to you and the work you are doing.

Alzadah Borough
Haslett, Michigan

Australian Appreciation

NOTES: You printed a letter from us — the response was amazing. We received letters from Blacks in Colorado and Georgia, from Indians, and from support groups in Europe.

The struggle for land rights to Aboriginal People of this continent is warming up again after a change of government and betrayed promises.

Close by, across the sea, sixty thousand natives of East Timor have been slaughtered by Western-trained Indonesian troops. Protest to the relevant embassies in Washington.

Gwalwa Daraniki
Darwin, Australia

Papua Natives Threatened

FRIENDS: We are engaged in researching hydro-electric schemes affecting native peoples around the world — and the companies involved in them.

At the request of the native people in Papua-Niugini, we are evaluating the impact of a huge hydro scheme that will certainly out-do James Bay, involving giant bauxite smelters, petro-chemical refineries, and uranium enrichment plants on the coast. These industries will be using minerals from Aboriginal lands in North Australia, and also rip-off the cheapest and largest amounts of electricity available in the world. The series of dams will cut right through Papua-Niugini and huge areas of land now supporting self-sufficient hunters and agriculturists will be drowned. No resettlement schemes are planned.

The Australian company Snow Mountains Engineering Corporation is completing the survey work the end of this year (for the feasibility study $13-million has already been spent). These are the same people who are cutting military roads for combatting counter-insurgency in the Thailand hill-tribe areas.

Mike Parsons
International Development Action
73 Little George St.
Fitzroy 3065, Australia

The Best of Two Worlds?

BROTHERS & SISTERS: This is for those who believe they can live with the best of two worlds. I will illustrate. Imagine: two roads, the Red going North-South, and the Wasichus going East-West. At a point, these meet at a crossroad. As you stand there, you see that if you try to walk with one foot on each road, you will soon be ripped in two by the pulling of each. If you try to walk down off the roads directly in the middle, soon you find yourself directly in the middle of nowhere. Did I make my point?

Angelika
Tonawanda, New York

Paying Attention to Violence

NOTES: I've recently seen you all go thru many changes leading to the Spirit. I've been dismayed that you'll pay more attention to violence than you need to. The way of the Spirit is the way of peacefulness, the way is to stay together and be strong, and remember the Sun Dance way will be accomplished only by those who are harmless.

Please cancel my subscription.

Keith Van de Castle
Crozet, Virginia

A Lesson From The Children

NOTES: "Indian Education" is what? *Your* money granted to *us* with which to buy *your* education? Education begins with Truth. Money is not Justice.

Gringo-oriented compensatory assistance, granted to native Americans out of Gringo guilt, only serves to victimize native Americans anew. Money is not Justice.

What good is money when you grant it, if *you* control the marketplace, and the only things we can buy are *your* kinds of things.

We do not want more of the goods you produce from our land. We want our land. Money is not Justice.

There are no "Indian war heroes". Faced with no alternatives, Indians fought only to survive. Your wars are never our concern.

There are many honkies in "Indian Programs". It is because only Gringos can do Gringo things. "Indian Programs" are Gringo Programs. Money is not Justice.

Brothers and Sisters: secure your villages, hide your children, be alert! The Oh-Great-Pioneers are coming! (Bicentennial of *what*?)

They once victimized a simple Indian by calling him "chief", thus empowering him to trade away our lands. Today, they call him a "great Indian educator" and by him, they lead our children off.

Rome did not *fall* — it just scattered all over the world.

If I owned a grocery store, I would still be hungry.

From The Children
Sacramento, California

Indian Turnip Information Center

NOTES: It was a man of the Kiowa who told me the legend of the Indian Turnip, called Tipsin. Our band of Chippewa call it "Le pomme blanche". The White Man call it "Tipsina Palorea Esculenta" of the plant family known as Scurf Pea.

How many Mothers and Grandmothers remember the legends or how to harvest the plant and how to braid it, or where the largest patches were? And best of all, how to cook the vegetable in steaming soups or browned stuffings? And where is the man who remembers the trade value of a string of turnips, or the price of a large storage cake that once was so big only two could be strapped to a pack horse? Or the old days when there were magnificent feasts of buffalo and corn with Tipsin fry bread and cooking baskets heaped with the light golden tuber.

I wonder, in thinking of the peoples of this world who live in areas that will not grow wheat or corn or rice or potatoes, where the land is hard and the people poor, if a taste of Tipsin were to grace their lips and fill empty stomachs. What an inexpensive and basic gift *this small root would be to starving people on* whose land it might flourish.

[But] there is not one little bitty book about Tipsin.

Somewhere in this country is a young Indian who already knows the lessons I struggle over. Somewhere there is one who knows plants. Somewhere there is a high school biology class, university research program, public service grant, tribal business, Indian cultural group, or perhaps even a single unique individual who has the genius to help with research. Somewhere there is a plot of land on a reservation that will grow only weeds and Tipsin and somewhere there is a smart Indian who will harvest and market a good cash crop.

Phil Falcon
3003 6 St. NW
Minot, North Dakota 58701

Greetings From New Zealand

NOTES: I write on behalf of Te Matakite o Aotearoa ["The People With Foresight In New Zealand"]. The aim of this new organization is for the retention of Maori land, which has been stolen, conned, and bribed from the Maori people ever since the white man first stepped foot in this land. Out of an original 66-million acres, the Maori people now have less than 3 million acres left. The kaupapa (platform) is that "not one more acre of Maori land shall be taken."

Kia kaha! (Stand strong!)

Te Matakite O Aotearoa
5 Huruhuru Road
Massey,
Auckland 8, New Zealand

What Does It All Mean?

NOTES: I believe that one of the most effective roads by which understanding and therefore recognition by whites of the many wrongs done to the Indians is when whites begin to realize that Indians have priceless gifts to offer the whites, as happened to me. Consequently, it saddened me when shortly after a beautiful experience at a peyote ceremony, I arranged for whites to be invited to another peyote ceremony but after arrangements had been made, militant Indians threatened to disrupt the ceremony if whites participated. While I can understand the motivation, it seemed to me counter-productive and against the interests of those militants themselves.

Walter Houston Clark
Newton Center, Massachusetts

Alcatraz Lives On

NOTES: I was on Alcatraz until I came back up here to Alaska to be with my people. I would like to relay a message to John Trudell: our thoughts are with you, John Trudell. We are concerned about you. I think of you often and the Indians I knew on Alcatraz. May the Great Spirit be with you.

Up here we made a sign so we would stay Indian: "GO INDIAN WAY".

Evelyn Hash Pete
Copper Center, Alaska

A Voice In The UN

NOTES: Please stop talking to the man who stole your country. Go to the United Nations and apply for membership as a nation. There you will have a stronger voice. The PLO is a good example.

Leonard Johnston
Toronto, Ontario

A Request From Ida Stuntz

NOTES: My name is Ida Stuntz Kills Right. My husband was the one who was killed by the FBI on June 26 on the Pine Ridge Reservation. I am working now with the Survival of American Indian Association. So far, they are the only organization helping me with my case against the FBI.

I want to get in touch with the lady who covered my husband's burial, and that Mt. Rushmore incident. Or any of the three gentlemen who were with her at the time.

Ida Stuntz Kills Right
Survival of American Indian Association
2524 16th Ave. So.
Seattle, Washington 98144
(206) 324-5750

N.C. Speaks to N.C.A.I.

NOTES: We are encouraged by the energy and quality of your development into the most widely-read Indian newspaper. We are even more encouraged by the attitude present in most of your journalism expressing the need for genuine, dignified unity and appreciation among Indian people.

Persistent among us, however, is genuine conflict. The non-Federal Indians in North Carolina are presently particular targets for certain ideological raiding parties within the National Congress of American Indians, evidenced by their infamous resolutions 75-46 and 75-54. These resolutions purport to attack the Lumbee of North Carolina, but in reality they attack all Indians who desire a just agreement among themselves as to what being Indian means in 1976.

The National Congress of American Indians has asked that "all governmental agencies cease granting of funds that are earmarked for the Indian tribes of our country to those organizations that are not Federally-recognized Indian tribes."

The "Indian experience" in North Carolina has been diverse enough to teach that when a person is officially oppressed because of being Indian, that person's membership in a federally-recognized group is irrelevant. Thus, within the class of "Indians" in our state, the Cherokees are federally recognized, others have been "terminated", others have had neither "recognition" nor "termination" on the federal level. All these groups have been recognized as "Indian" by North Carolina statutes since the 1800s, and subsequently by the United States Congress. Most importantly, these groups have traditionally identified themselves in relation to authentic, historically-validated tribes and groups.

We feel that Indians nationwide have been force-fed too much bureaucracy and too many inconsistent bureaucratic policies like "recognition", "termination", and "self-determination." It is ironic, but also pathetic, to conceive of non-federally recognized Indians subjecting themselves to a litmus test of Indianness produced, administered, and evaluated by federally-recognized groups claiming the sole right to accept or reject their rightful identity.

Non-federally recognized Indians do not cling to the illustion that "federal recognition" is meaningful — federal brand or not, we are allies of Indians. It is too bad that we have reached the point where the oldest, largest, and until now perhaps the most respected national Indian organization in America has turned against half of their Indian brethren in this country.

A. Bruce Jones, Executive Director
N.C. Commission of Indian Affairs
229 Heart of Raleigh Motel
Raleigh, North Carolina 27603



A Little Help From Friends

NOTES: We would like to express our sincere appreciation to the following Concerned Citizens for Native American Causes, more specifically, for native American Indian prisoners' rights at the Nebraska Penal and Correctional Complex at Lincoln, for their support in helping establish the Native American Spiritual and Cultural Awareness (NASCA) group: Dr. John J. Brasch, Beatty Brasch, Dr. Garnet Larson, Rick Williams, Louis Pedoma, Frank Black Elk, Bob Dilliard, Jerry Stuben, the League of Women Voters of Lincoln, the Nebraska Indian Commission, the United Indians of Nebraska, the American Indian Center of Omaha, the Lincoln Indian Center, and our legal representatives Walter Echo-Hawk and Roy S. Haber who were successful in obtaining the consent decree in our civil rights litigation against Warden Charles L. Wolff Jr.

Because of these concerned people, we are allowed to exercise our traditional religion, to wear our traditional hair style, to have our NASCA group and our college Indian studies. Because of your human concern for us, we are able to exercise our civil rights. Each and every one of you were instrumental in setting a landmark legal decision on Indian rights for native prisoners. On behalf of the NASCA group, I thank each and every one of you.

Enick Robinson, NASCA
POBox 81248
Lincoln, Nebraska 68501

The Struggle At Holman Prison

HAU! We know the struggle you fight — we here in Holman Prison, Alabama, are fighting a struggle of the same nature. This struggle puts you under pressure and makes us aware, and gives us the need to study so that we do not become as sub-human as certain people would like us to become.

We find your attitudes toward the native situation, other Third World people, poor and oppressed people, prisoners subjected to the neo-fascist, victims of sexism and racism is just and enlightning inspiring and helpful.

We wholeheartedly support AKWESASNE NOTES. Some people condemn AIM, but we political prisoners and people who study history understand the fight they are up against. To protect a race, human rights, families, land, culture, themselves is natural — even the Christian's Christ fought against this and so he was killed too.

Please reply c/o AKWESASNE NOTES.

Tatoke Inyanke (Kiowa/Cheyenne)
Holman Prison, Alabama

More Details From Francis Jessepe

NOTES: On April 26, myself and another Indian brother, Jim Puckkee, decided it was time for us to do something for our Indian culture group and for our people on the outside. We seized six hostages, including the deputy director of the prison. We took these hostages to our Indian Culture room here at the prison, and requested to speak with the state corrections secretary and the director of the prison.

After about fifteen minutes, we gave ourselves up and we were placed in solitary confinement. The hostages were released unharmed, and then we were charged with 14 felonies [each]. I am charged with six counts of kidnapping, 5 counts of robbery, and 3 counts of assault.

I would like to hear from anyone that can help or knows of anyone that might be able to help us out in any way — as soon as possible.

Make sure I continue to receive my AKWESASNE NOTES.

Francis Jessepe 7692
POBox 2
Lansing, Kansas 66043

Long Hair In Prison

NOTES: I've read Terry Davis' letter to the editor concerning hairstyles in prison, and I'm discouraged to see that this is still a continuing problem. It shouldn't be happening anymore, and you should inform everyone that in a court decision, in the 8th Circuit Court of Appeals, that Iowa prison officials may not prevent Indian inmates from wearing long hair, if it is a part of their religious belief.

Beth Kingfisher
Belmont, California

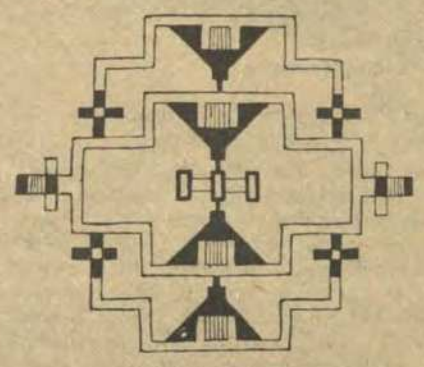
Art Supplies Needed

GREETINGS, Brothers & Sisters: The Native American inmate organization presently representing 85 native Americans from 17 Sovereign Nations incarcerated here is requesting assistance of donations of art materials and supplies for the art class just started at the facility. Articles needed are velour paper, soft pastels, pastel paper for hard pastel, pastel of all kinds, oil paints, brushes, canvas, color pencils, drawing paper, ink of all colors with pens, watercolors, watercolor paper, brushes, soft lead pencils. In Brotherhood,

Alfred T. Whiting 13547-102,
Intertribal Council
Federal Correctional Institution
9595 West Quincy Ave.
Englewood, Colorado 80110

Idaho-style Rehabilitation

NOTES: We Indian inmates here at the Idaho State Prison are supposed to be rehabilitating to prepare for the outside world, but we find it very hard to do with what we have to work with and the kind of people we have working with us.



Last January, another brother and myself were wrongly accused of an assault upon a supposed undercover informer. We were found not guilty. At the time, I had a headband with AIM on it, which was forceably taken from me by the Captain of Security, Josef Munch, who is German and runs this prison anyway he wants. I was informed by him that American Indian Movement was all militant, and that our Indian Religion was a militant religion, and he would not stand for it to enter the prison.

Since then, everytime our Indian Counselor enters his office, the Captain puts my headband on and then disgracefully lets out mock war whoops and dances mockingly around his desk and declares, "You see, I am AIM! I am Indian! I know how to do war dance ha ha! Our Indian Counselor, who is supposed to be Indian is named Milton Tybo, who works here on an Indian grant. He just stands there and laughs right along with him and refuses to ask him to stop because he shares the same feelings about AIM.

Our Indian Counselor declares, "If you do not rehabilitate to my specification I won't help you get out."

The warden, Richard Anderson, has barred members of the Intertribal Policy Board from coming in to help us, because the Policy Board made the statement that prison officials have neglected the health and medical needs of Indian prisoners. Also the warden has told the news media that all we want a Sacred Pipe Ceremony or spiritual meeting for is to smoke pot or other hallucinogenics.

With this type of people supposedly being the ones to be setting a good example for us to follow when we get out, it is hard for me. Tell me, Mr. John Q. Public — just how in the Hell is a person supposed to better himself and understand the name of rehabilitation?

Lewis John Ballard 14638
POBox 7309
Boise, Idaho 83707

On Hunger Strike

BROTHERS & SISTERS: Greetings in the Great Spirit. I ask for help from the free world for my hunger strike until we get some changes here at this concentration camp here at Blanch, North Carolina, better known as Ivory Bluff.

Write to anyone who has pull in the ladder of politics. Medical attention is lacking. We have no one to perform our sacred religious rites — just Baptist and such who spread disruption. Beatings occur daily because we won't bow down to the honkeys. We have no rights when we appear before the disciplinary board.

Our enemy is strong, but we will be stronger. I ask for support from all the good brothers and sisters.

Daveko Littlefoot (Robert Nestor)
Route 1, Box 140
Blanch, North Carolina 27212

Injustice in the Courtrooms

NOTES: I'm not trying to excuse my criminal charges — I merely want to bring out the fact that an Indian suffers a greater penalty than a non-Indian charged with a similar offense. Prejudice is an every-day practice.

I was indicted in federal court. I pleaded not-guilty. I was found guilty by jury of lesser offenses: aiding and abetting (1) a simple assault (misdemeanor), (2) assault resulting in serious bodily injury, and (3) burglary in the fourth degree. On March 3, 1975, I was sentenced to 3 months on (1), five years on (2) and 3 years on (3) — these are the maximum sentences for each offense. I was immediately incarcerated at the maximum security prison at Leavenworth, Kansas.

The three other persons involved pleaded guilty and received the following sentences: 3 years, 90 days, and 30 days. On appeal to the higher courts, I challenged the constitutionality of count (2), and I alleged that the Indian receives a greater penalty than the non-Indian upon conviction for the same act and thus I was being denied equal protection and due process of law.

On October 7, the U.S. Court of Appeals agreed in part and count (2) was dismissed. "It is difficult for us to understand how the subjection of Indians to a sentence ten times greater than that of a non-Indian is reasonably related to their protection," the court said. But count (3) stands, and I am to serve three years for an offense which I have yet to find anyone else serving time for, let alone this amount of time.

I am married with eight children at home with my wife alone caring for them. I have never been in a penitentiary before. I am a handicapped person in that I had a leg amputation above my left knee in 1970. I have been trained and employed in the South Dakota Legal Services as a Lay-Advocate for those on the reservation. I have served little over a year now with a perfect disciplinary record. I am the newly-elected chairman for our Indian Culture Group. I am also the treasurer for the St. Vincent DePaul Society which helps other prison inmates financially in time of emergencies.

An Indian suffers a greater penalty for being Indian. An Indian suffers a greater penalty for exercising constitutional rights by asking for a trial. The Watergate conspirators [received light sentences and probation]. I walked into an abandoned two-room shack on the reservation and I am sentenced to 3 years. Now is there any doubt of the double standard of justice in this country? I will have to keep reaching out for others across the nation so that I may have a chance to join hands with those who may want to assist to end this living nightmare of persecution.

Seth H. Big Crow 886-132
POBox 4000
Springfield, Missouri

Harrington Luna Free

NOTES: We, the members of the Brotherhood of American Indians would like to express our appreciation and thanks to you for publishing a letter we had sent to you asking for letters of support for the parole of one of our brothers.

Harrington J. Luna walked out of here today (July 16) after serving well over 15 years inside prisons. This was made possible by all the letters of support, and the publication of his appeal in papers such as yours.

We are avid readers and supporters of NOTES. We are a prison organization who just recently celebrated our seventh year in existence — seven years of continual struggle to maintain and promote our native culture, heritage, and religion. We have had a very active AA Therapy Program, an Ex-Offender Program, and a Cultural Program. We have an active membership of approximately 60 members. We would like to hear from other native groups, as communication and community support is very important to any prison organization. May the Great Spirit be with you all.

Arnold Little Head
Brotherhood of American Indians
POBox 500
Steilacoom, Washington 98388

The Trail to Tahlequah

NOTES: I believe that, like our fathers who came West, it is time for the Cherokee to change again, to adopt new ways, if we do not want our children to be in zoos with the remaining buffalo.

Just as my Fathers gave up their homes in the Trail of Tears, and began anew in Oklahoma, so I give up my home among the white of America. Many still believe in the Old Ways in Tahlequah. Let us re-unite, break away in this Bicentennial year, and rediscover our culture.

Cherokees, Reunite! Come together!

Gary Shatto
POBox 7309
Boise, Idaho 83707

To Pennsylvania Prisoners

NOTES: This is to all natives in Pennsylvania prisons. I am interested in finding out the situations you are confronted with as natives. I am desiring to start some wheels turning to have investigations done. Let me hear from you.

Rebecca L. Wolfe
Route 2
Springboro, Pa. 16435

Why Won't They Listen?

BROTHERS & SISTERS: Right now, in the wee hours of morning, I sit here in my cell, with a troubled mind and heart. Before I got busted, I travelled through the States. I realized that many of the brothers and sisters I met don't hardly listen to our older people any more. They just want to have fun, get loaded, party, constantly messing their bodies up. Why won't they listen to the older people? What ever happened to the love and respect and patience between our grandfathers and younger brothers?

If we don't listen, what are we gonna tell the unborn generation? What will we have to tell them? Do you now see where this is troubling my mind and heart?

Jim Manning 37577
2605 State St.
Salem, Oregon 97310



NOTES: I'm investigating criminal law towards native Americans, and I refuse to rely on some white man's carefully documented study. I need the truth in this, and that is why I ask for letters telling of attitudes, feelings, toward the law, police, arrests, jail sentences, prison terms, correctional officers.

Joy Franklin
Route 4
Murphysboro, Illinois 62966

From A Prison Cell

NOTES: I write this from a prison cell. I'm due for trial, and I expect to get a jolt but nevertheless that won't break my spirits as an Indian of North America.

In this province, a lot of police brutality incidents are starting to get exposed, and more brothers are speaking out more inside these joints. You can't really blame incarcerated brothers and sisters for getting hostile attitudes when word comes in that our people out there are getting brutality.

It's already bad enough that some of us are slammed inside for trying to cope with a system put on by prison authorities. These joints that are over-populated with Indians are no longer getting their so-called rehabilitation terms across. Instead, they are breeding a different kind of Indian — and what kind of Indian that is remains to be seen.

I'm not one to threaten, but I would like to state a fact — a lot of ex-con Indians are getting together in groups and projects all over. What's going to happen when these brothers really get organized? A lot of the younger youths don't see the point of negotiations and meetings and conventions.

Billy Brass
Prince Albert Correctional Center
Prince Albert, Saskatchewan

We Remember Ernest Valenzuela

NOTES: Ernest was a Pima, a graduate of Phoenix High School. He was sent to prison for 15 years for the death of a white man. His case was widely publicized — he pled not guilty because of self-defense. He had been beaten, taken to the desert, where he managed to overpower them and a gun was fired in the struggle. He was taken to the prison medical facility in Springfield, Missouri, for two years prior to being sentenced. There he was beaten, forced to take drugs, and harrassed by officials.

When he was sent to Leavenworth, he helped start the North American Indian Culture class. He was harrassed for his Indian activities, and he was forced to file legal actions. Then, on November 8, 1973, Ernest was murdered by persons unknown. Inmates pleaded that Ernest be given medical treatment, but none was administered. He lay dying for a half-hour before being taken to hospital and pronounced dead.

We ask that you observe November 8, 1976, as a day of mourning/memorial.

Sister Evelyn Ancilla
Convent of the Transfiguration
495 Albion Ave. / Glendale
Cincinnati, Ohio 45246

Comments

Dear Mr. Grand Dragon

NOTES: We have this to say to the Grand Dragon:

We found your views very disturbing. We the women of the Detroit American Indian Center feel that if you are so proud of being an ignorant fool, you are entitled to nothing but our pity. We also think that you should read the Bible again.

Women of the
Detroit American Indian Center
360 John R
Detroit, Michigan 48226

A Reply To The Grand Dragon

FRIENDS: I suppose I should be impressed by the letter from William Chaney (any kin to the murdered civil rights worker?) I mean a Grand Dragon! Next we'll hear from the Wizard of Oz himself! Or Puff, the Magic Dragon!

Frankly, I'm not impressed. I'm a male, white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant myself, right down to the blond hair, blue eyes, and English name — 100%.

I'm glad you read NOTES, brother. You lost the bet that they wouldn't print your letter. Using the term loosely,

A White Brother
Chicago, Illinois

Does God Love a Grand Dragon?

NOTES: If the Grand Dragon is basing his feeling and actions on the Bible, nothing is farther from the truth. First of all, if he thinks "we can have their women anytime we want," he should read the seventh commandment [against adultery].

It is sad to see a man suffer from malice, hatred, and prejudice, but it is more sad to see him drag the name of God down with him. "There is no respect of persons with God." Romans 2:11. As a warning to the Grand Dragon, read Rev. 22:19.

Kathy Mhoon
Shreveport, Louisiana

Bigot & Proud

NOTES: I am a Native American, and my people were driven out of Georgia by the likes of William Chaney. He uses "God" to spread hate. He quotes the Bible like cheap trash, distorting the intended meaning. He quotes John 8:32: "And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free" — to support twisted racist propaganda.

I am a Native American Woman, and you can't buy me or steal my soul. William Chaney disgraces the word "man" and the whole concept of manhood.

Cherryl Fall
Sacramento, California

From a Black Woman, With Love

BROTHERS & SISTERS: I have tried to change the ideas of both black and white people around me — it is very hard. Sometime I feel alone. Most blacks think I am crazy for getting involved in the Indian cause. Whites think I'm just another black militant.

Also a note to Wm. Chaney, Grand Dragon KKK, whose letter appeared in the early summer issue. It's sad that people like that are allowed to walk free when good people like Russell Means, Dennis Banks, Jessie Jackson and Martin Luther King are incarcerated, hassled, or killed by "the law". It makes you wonder what the hell is justice.

I'd like to hear from people who feel as I do.

Wendy Williams
4835 McCasland
East St. Louis, Missouri 62207

But For The Big Surprise. . .

NOTES: There was a letter that appeared in AKWESASNE NOTES in issue 50 over my signature.

I did not write this letter. I have no idea who did. I could be part of the FBI COINTELPRO.

My motto is "Each To His Own".

Wm. M. Chaney
United Klans of America, Inc.
Greenwood, Indiana

Faith in Survival

RELATIVES: Reading NOTES has made me feel less lonely, and increased my faith in the survival and destiny of the People, and Ways of Life given to us by the Great Spirit. Keep up the good work — we need you.

Wm. Paul Foley, Jr.
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

A Community of Real People

NOTES: I am almost embarrassed about the extent to which your editorial [early summer issue, p. 4-5] spoke of my own beliefs about the nature of things on this earth. I had always thought that my values and beliefs were quite unique to myself — I'm feeling joyous to realize there is somewhat of a community of people who think this way. "Natural or Real People", Sotsisowah called us.

Linda Muller
Longmeadow, Massachusetts

A Product of Capitalism

NOTES PEOPLE: I enjoyed the Early Spring issue very much and would like to comment on the essay by Sotsisowah about the anxieties produced by Western Civilization.

I think it should be emphasized that these anxieties are a product of this social system, Capitalism. Capitalism is a system which has, at its very core, the idea of exploitation of your fellow human beings and all Creation. To gain "success" in a capitalist system, you must take from others — land from native people, profits produced by a worker.

Seeing no alternatives, people try to accept the present state of things. This attempt at acceptance gives rise to anxiety. We try to accept this sick abnormal system as being normal.

Many people try to escape this anxiety by alcohol, drugs, mass spectator-sports, and end up joining in the exploitation. But others see the need to build a new society, a new culture, where instead of exploiting each other, people work together for the common good.

Returning to a natural lifestyle, as Sotsisowah suggests, is an important part of building this new society. But at the same time, we must be working to change the basic system. I believe a socialist society is the best answer to these problems, and would like to know what NOTES thinks on this question.

Kevin Eddy
New York

A New Definition of Indianness

NOTES: AKWESASNE NOTES has done a great deal to sensitize all people to the injustice that surrounds them. The consciousness-raising process is a chore that no one wants to take on, but the NOTES has done so in an intelligent and articulate manner.

But I personally would like to see it now move in the direction that GawWeeTraw [Fall, 1975 issue] has suggested — I would like to see it dedicate at least part of its paper on a regular basis to the development of a new definition of Indianness, a definition that can be adopted by all people who respect the earth and their fellow beings.

Debra Picchi
Gainesville, Florida



At Peace With One's Heritage

NOTES: The letter from Hazel M. White in the Early Summer issue is very confusing. I agree that people saturated with self-hate or guilt are good to no one, including themselves. But I cannot understand why she insists that a man or a woman must assume a pride in his people in order to contribute to the living world.

All my efforts to meet the rhythms of this land have run against the grain of my experiences in the white community. I have only encountered a few white people who have nurtured, complimented, or even acknowledged my spiritual life. I do not see how I can be for a living integrity, and at the same time proud of a people who live in ways that threaten and disavow that integrity.

Am I to be proud of the missionaries who preach love and peace to a nation that has encountered only hatred and violence at the hands of Christians? Am I to praise the isolated efforts of governmental organizations that wish to aid the people they have stripped of lands and livelihood? Am I to applaud one white woman who purports to respect "Indian rights" while she condones a way of life that continues to pressure and oppose the spiritual laws of those native peoples?

I cannot visualize the white heritage she claims to be proud of. Is she speaking of the Christian Inquisition? The Imperialistic excursions of the Spanish, Dutch, French, British? It is true that I cannot live wholly bearing the burden of historical guilt, but it is ridiculous to assume that I can only live if I assume a pride in an unwholesome heritage. The history of the white race has been, and continues to be, an opposition to native peoples and a contradiction to natural laws.

I, for one, have not rejected my people hastily, or out of a sense of guilt, but simply because their way of life continually thwarts, confuses, and condemns the fundamental life of my own heart and soul. And if I am faced with a choice between an arbitrary pride in my own people, and a devotion to what I sense as a sustaining way of life, then I'd rather be without a people.

Jason Mahadeva
Southfield, Michigan

Capitalist, Communist, Natural

NOTES: Thanks for Dr. Jack Forbes essay on Machiavellianism. It gave me a lot to think about. However, one part disturbed me. Dr. Forbes discussed capitalism and communism, and rejected them both equally as ways of working toward his ultimate goal of "nation" and individual "self-determination".

To me, capitalism has come to mean a philosophy or economic system in which people's lives are fixed on striving toward more and more money and "things" and communism is a philosophy or economic system which rejects individual excessive profits in favor of seeing to it that every person has at least adequate food, clothing, shelter, medical care, and other necessary means for survival. Although communistic governments do suppress a lot of internal dissent and needs and wishes of individual persons or "domestic nations", their orientation is still toward people rather than money.

Please keep in mind that the governments that are trying to stop communism, such as the U.S., make it impossible for governments such as China's or Cuba's to be as idealistic as they would like.

Imperialism and colonialism were developed through a process beginning thousands of years ago. I don't believe they can be undone by any one means. It will take a process to completely end imperialism and colonialism, and I feel communism is one of a very few present-day means that are actually accomplishing anything toward self-determination. I suggest that people stop either idolizing or rejecting communism (whichever point you are now at) and instead put it in its proper perspective as one imperfect but workable part of the total process to ending oppression.

Reva Bluewood
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Nazi Philosophy The Same?

NOTES: I was especially interested in your Early Spring issue article by Rarihokwats, "The Natural World Is Not A Free World", in which he says that "We need unity in diversity and an appreciation for diversity." With these words I agree from all my heart after a long experience of life and knowing many people and nations. In fact, these thoughts were also the core of the Hitler movement, but unfortunately some idiots and fanatical radicalists interpreted the race-theory wrongly.

As happy as I am with your thoughts, as sad I was when I read that Sotsisowah compares the Ku Klux Klan with the Nazi Party in his article, "Western Peoples, Natural Peoples" (p. 34). I should like to express clearly that I was never a member of the Nazi Party, but I am a witness of this time. Of course, I know that Hitler and his leaders made faults, but he was not the devil and the Nazi Party not the satanic gang as the internationally-spread hate-propaganda says.

In order to express or describe Hitler's main idea, I have only to copy the words of John Trudell (in his article, "Before We Were 'Indians' " Autumn, 1975): "In the life and society of 'Our People', our function was to look out for the people. It was to serve the people. It was so that our people may live, so that 'the People' may survive." According to these ideals we lived practically here in Germany after 1933 and fought with idealism during the war. But after our collapse, our enemies had to create a false label for us to justify with their humanitarian beliefs the oppression that they have put on our people. Again, I have only to replace Trudell's use of the word 'Indian' with the word 'German': "The enemies said (Germans) had no religious spiritual beliefs. The enemies said the (Germans) were savages. The enemies said the (Germans) had no soul, no inner life. The enemies said the (Germans) were not human."

Mrs. Ursula Beyrich
Frankfurt, Germany



A Survey of the Missions

NOTES: I suggest NOTES do a series of articles on missions. Due to the incredible ability of NOTES to show both sides of an issue, an informative collection of comments from both sides on each mission would allow supporting Christians to determine whether or not the mission is worthy of continued support, or if it is simply feeding the ego of the missionary workers. Then those of all faiths could cease to contribute to those missions which insist on destroying cultures and ruining lives, forcing them out of existence.

Ted May
Greenville, Michigan

[And so we invite readers to send in articles on a mission church in their area, describing why it is — or is not — worthy of support. The Editors.]

Help Without Backfiring

NOTES: In your Early Spring issue, Richard Erdoes concludes his article on the trial of Leonard Crow Dog by asking how white friends can help native peoples "without that help backfiring".

Part of the problem of sympathetic whites is that their perception of Indian political and economic problems is one that is defined by other whites rather than by Indians. Naturally, the essence of the message is lost in the translation.

The cultural and spiritual ripoff native Americans experienced (and are experiencing) at the outset of the white's "new awareness' are the birth pains accompanying any such "movement" that is articulated to whites by other whites via the media — witness the birth and death of the ecology movement during the late 60s and early 70s. Such a media event! We even had our own flag! But now that all the hoopla has died down, environmental problems receive attention from the serious student rather than from media junkies.

Whites can best assist native Americans by working for them, rather than just with them. Indian communities differ — and should be allowed to differ — from other American communities in a thousand ways most whites would never understand. An interested, informed and sympathetic public is great, but the word has to come out of the Indian community and go directly to the white community with as few middlemen as possible.

Mike Nauer
Cincinnati, Ohio

A Mixed Viewpoint

NOTES: I recently found a copy of AKWESASNE NOTES. Never have I been so impressed by a publication's mastery of the English language and the editing (including spelling), the historical research, and most of all, the "Indian viewpoint". I have read and re-read the entire publication many times now and I think something is happening to me.

But now the complaints. I personally refuse to bear any blame for what happened before 1940. My conscience cannot carry any guilt for crimes committed before I was a teenager. Please try to recall that most Europeans did not come here for the purpose of plundering native peoples. They came for opportunity. They found it years ago, and they can find it now if they look hard enough. In short, the white man's ways are not all bad and this country, for my part, is still the best of the lot.

Your Dr. Jack Forbes in his article, "Machiavellianism" writes an excellent little essay. But he overlooks a few facts of history. This country, whether started by discontented merchants or true libertarians, actually did strike a new chord — self-determination, pure and simple. Don't forget that, Dr. Forbes. It started here with white Europeans, chiefly Englishmen, propounding "the most potent idea of modern history." But this is to cavil — it's a fine little essay.

Arthur Berliner
Mansfield Center, Connecticut

An Urgent & Important Appeal

NOTES: I would like to have letters of protest sent by the people to their congressmen and senators. I would also like to appeal to the people for letters of support and consolation to my wife and son who are destitute and need your help.

[See Early Summer issue of NOTES for complete information.] My name is Jack Warledo. I belong to the Traditional Seminole Indian Tribe of Oklahoma. My brother Johnson and I were fighting for recognition of the Treaty Issues which the Government of the U.S. made with my people. We were fighting the issue of the railroads crossing our lands.

To get us out of the way, we were railroaded to the federal penitentiary with three other Indians. We were convicted of conspiracy, extortion, and firearms act on April 20, 1976, and sentenced for ten years.

My wife, Mary Warledo, has written me saying that they want to send my son, Johnny Warledo, 10 years old, to the Boys Industrial School. My wife doesn't have means to get a lawyer for him as she has been living off of $100 a month. I am very unhappy with this situation because I know I can't be there to help my son. The government has taken me — and now they are trying to take my son. We are going to have to stick our necks out and see what we can do — you and I know that I'm not the only one who has this problem.

The Indian situation in this country is getting worse instead of better. I'm in here for fighting for the rights of my people and for my children and their children.

Please write letters of hope and encouragement to my wife and son:

Mary Warledo
915 E. Bently
Shawnee, Oklahoma

Any others that care to can write to me.

Jack Warledo 39678-115
POBox 33
Terre Haute, Indiana

Frog Clan Loses Precious Items

NOTES: I am writing for your assistance in regaining tribal arts taken from the Frog Clan House in Klukwan, Alaska. The items taken include decorated wall-screens, carved and painted totem posts, old custom hats, Chilkat blankets, basketry, rings and more. Sold to a Canadian art dealer, they are now in Victoria, B.C.

For a long time now, art dealers have tried to get their hands on our old custom things, each time offering larger amounts. Time and again, my people have refused to sell. Incidentally, those people who did "sell", supposedly "clan leaders", did not even reside in Klukwan. The items were taken without the knowledge of the Frog Clan, not to mention the village people of Klukwan.

We appealed to the State Court, and a temporary restraining order was placed on the objects and later an injunction so the things could not be disposed of in any way until ownership of the things is settled in court. But between the time when the restraining order was lifted and the injunction placed, Rolaff, the art dealer, is said to have sold some of the things. The problem with having Rolaff declared in contempt of court is that the Alaska State Court has no jurisdiction in Canada.

Does anybody know of any organizations or persons that can help us?

These tribal things are very important to us. They are not just art pieces. They have been in my village for many generations — nobody has a right to sell these things. to disinherit generations to come.

As you can see, it is very crucial that we get these things back into our village, and we would appreciate any help offered.

Lani Strong
"Artifacts" Committee
Klukuan, Alaska 99827

The Importance of Language

NOTES: I wish to express my solidarity with your struggle for survival of the ethnical identity of the real and only "Americans". However, in the long run, if no solution to the language problem is found, continued agitation in English language will produce just what it intends to prevent: anglification and disappearance of the cultural identity.

A cultural renaissance can only be assessed on language, which codifies the ethnical identity during millennia.

There are five great linguistic nations of North American Indians. I think that the only possible means for cultural survival will be to reconstruct the 5 parent languages out of the present tribal dialects in order to create codified written languages which will take the place of English. The procedure would be (1) to create a logical and simple phonetical system using Latin characters at their original fixed value; (2) to assess the grammatical system on the prevalent dialect; (3) to establish a dictionary retaining from all dialects the oldest words, the most complete words, the logical pattern of semantic roots.

Considering that in Guatemala there are still 2.5-million Quiche speaking Mayas, this state will play the crucial role for the whole AmerIndian race and AIM should make intensive efforts to have relations with Quiche speakers. If some day the Guatemalan Mayans manage to run the State instead of the repressive Hispanic oligarchy, and make Quiche the official language, this speech could be modernized to express scientific concepts and technical knowledge, and thereby become the written tool of expression for all American Indians. Maya would be the most appropriate language for this purpose, since it even disposed of a pre-European writing and mathematical system.

Victor Keller
Belgrad Strasse 74
Munchen, Germany

Eighty Families Homeless

NOTES: The community of Kashechewan, situated on the coast of James Bay, was extensively damaged by a flood on April 25, 1976. This tragic event has made over eighty families homeless — all food supplies and personal possessions have been destroyed as well as their homes.

Although no lives were lost in this disaster, all the families were evacuated. They are presently grouped together in the communities of Moose Factory and Moosonee, and morale is very low. It will take considerable time and funds to rebuild this community. This letter is one of appeal for your support in the way of funds to rebuild Kashechewan. Cheques should be made payable to the CASH FOR KASH FUND. Tax exemption receipts will be provided on request.

Andrew Rickard, Chief
Grand Council Treaty 9
261 Third Avenue
Timmins, Ontario

An Example From the Leaders

NOTES: The shooting that took place on the Yankton Sioux Reservation at Wagner, South Dakota, in early May was the beginning of many bad rumors damaging to my family and others and to myself.

We are still members and do support the American Indian Movement, but we will no longer support any leader or officers that are so weak they cannot conduct themselves as such. They have practiced habits and shown actions at times that have hurt the organization and have hurt many Indian people, young and old.

We believe if they want to be recognized as leaders and traditional people, they should practice what they preach. Not just preach and then go on living as they choose. They have to live it before our people, especially the young. An example has to be set by them to everyone, everywhere.

If they want to be leaders and want respect, then they should act as leaders. Our future lies with the young people — we can only be a help to them if our own hearts and minds are clear and kept in a spiritual way. We have to stop kidding ourselves — get back on the right track, get our heads together.

May the Great Spirit unite hearts and minds so we can join together and be strong to win this struggle.

Lois A. Tiger
Wagner, South Dakota

Bureaucratic Termination

NOTES: The "Durant Roll" was formulated by the U.S. Government in 1910 to designate the Grand River Bands of Adawa Nations members. This roll has been utilized by the Bureau of Indian Affairs for various reasons for sixty-six years.

On March 3, BIA Commissioner Morris Thompson sent a telegram announcing that the Durant Roll is to be considered invalid as of that date. As a result of this decision, our treaty rights are non-existent. Federal assistance will cease. The U.S. considers that the Adawa (Ottawa) Nation does not exist.

We never were granted a land base. As a result, most Adawa people now live in urban areas. In 1946, Robert and Juanita Dominic founded the Northern Michigan Ottawa Association. Robert Dominic died suddenly this year of a heart attack. The notice of the telegram was received the day of his funeral. NMOA is the largest organization for the Adawa Nation in Michigan. They have worked the hardest for the people, becoming involved mainly in treaty rights.

We will fight this outrage of the BIA. We are seeking a land base so that we may retain our identity as a nation.

Berni Pittman
2365 Becker Road
Muskegon, Michigan 49445



bright red beads, blue-colored feathers
reflecting the past, perceiving the future

red-fringed shawls, stiff blue jeans
dancing in circles, smiling the while

wide-eyed children, a mother dying
photographs lost, images forgotten

distant flutes, silent drums
words unknown, songs unsung

soft white leather, ribboned shirts
times long gone, memories faded

red-frayed shawls, patched blue jeans
hanging in doorways, worn no more

dull red beads, lost blue feathers
reflecting the past, perceiving the future

Four months before he was scheduled to complete nurses' training at Haskell Indian Junior College, last September 27, 1975, Duane LaRue Chenault, a five-year veteran of Vietnam, was shot to death on a street in Topeka Kansas. Duane, 27, unarmed and defenseless, was shot at close range by a white man and died at the scene. Almost a year later, August, 1976, there was a trial in Shawnee District Court in Topeka. Duane's assailant was found not guilty. On the Pottawatomi reservation north of Topeka, many people believe this confirms their long-standing belief that an Indian's life is of no value in the courts.

We were given no time for sorrow
Allowed no moment of grief,

The wailing of the women silenced
The beat of the drums destroyed,

Oh, fallen warrior, lying there
So quiet, so still, hear us,

For the sorrow remains in our hearts
The grief can be seen in our eyes,

The wailing is heard in our voices
And our footsteps echo the drums.

Wilbert Chicksi of Tuktayaktuk in the Northwest Territories, died this spring by his own hand in the Federal Penitentiary at Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, where his body is now buried, far from his family and spiritual home in the North,

and

Larry Black Jr., age 16, a Cheyenne-Arapahoe, was found hanged in the cell to which he had been taken after his arrest

and

James Angus, 30, of Loon Lake, Saskatchewan, was found hanging in an RCMP cell in Onion Lake where he had been taken on a charge of intoxication. They too are our brothers, and we mourn their loss from our lives and cause.

Ed LaPlante passed on in his 76th year at his Milwaukee, Wisconsin, home. He was an "urban Indian" before the term was coined, but he always insisted he was a Chippewa in the city solely for survival — his heart remained on the western shores of Lake Superior where he was born, and where his ashes have been returned. He was the grandson of Maymaushkowash, chief of the Grand Portage Chippewas. He attended Carlisle, and although working as a repairman in Milwaukee, he devoted most of his time to furthering the Consolidated Indian Tribes, one of the earliest urban Indian organizations, and later, the United Indians of Milwaukee, who will sorely miss their jaunty and able friend.

"This woman, my mother, was a mother to all of us. She did a lot of good things for the people. Let her friendliness and her kindness live for all time." So spoke Chief Robert Smallboy as his mother, Isobel Smallboy, was returned to the earth August 25 after 111 or more years of a good life near Hobbema, Alberta, and the Ermineskin Reserve.

The Noble Savage Rides Again

NOTES: In early August, a small group of dedicated Prescott, Arizona, businessmen once again painted their bodies brown, donned long black wigs, slipped into their kaibab moccasins and slowly walked to their ceremonial grounds at Smoki Mesa. There, for two or three hours, they danced, sang, and acted out their impressions of the songs, dances, stories, and religious ceremonies of the American Indian.

The Smoki People, as they call themselves, take this business seriously. They research the material, they rehearse the dances and songs for months, and work skillfully in reproducing to the exact bead their costumes. During the ceremony, the 5,000 spectators are immersed in the sensory world of the Indian: a baby cries, the fragrances of fry bread and burning juniper filter upward, the beat of drums echo off the stadium walls as the filtered red and green spotlights pick out women and children cooking and playing around fires.

Through such theatrical antics, the Smoki People say they are helping perpetuate the ceremonies, dances, and religious practices of the American Indian. This attitude on the part of the Smoki "Tribe" assumes three things: first, that Indian ceremonies are dead or on their way out of existence; secondly, that a group of white businessmen can somehow retain what is left by studying old Bureau of Ethnology reports; and thirdly that Indian people themselves aren't capable of either holding on to their way of life. All of those assumptions are, of course, absurd, incredible, presumptuous, and in some cases downright sacriligious.

With this in mind, I suggest a modest proposal to Indian People:

A group of enterprising Indians could get together and put on their own pageant perpetuating the religious and secular ceremonies of the Prescott businessman. It could be held at Window Rock every year on Columbus Day. They could call themselves the Honki People and could paint their skin white, wear suits, and die their hair blond.

As twilight falls, just before the ceremonials are to begin, leaders of the community could emerge from the Chamber of Commerce building to the singing of Gospel Music. In each man's right hand would be an attache case filled with annual resolutions and proposals. The breath-taking religious events could follow the more mundane secular dances. These religious happenings and dances could begin with the taking of communion and end with either the crucifixion of yellow-haired fellow whose last name was Custer, or with the second coming of the Great White Father emerging from a puff of smoke.

A ceremonial such as this would bring concerned Indian People from all parts of the reservation together in a feeling of fellowship through hard work and a job-well-done. It might also have added spin-off effects, like enhanced business opportunities or status benefits for those participating. It would help the slumping Indian economy by stimulating the sales of mens' clothing, gold watches, and ceremonial paraphernalia used by the children, like Baby Tender Love dolls. To compliment the entire scene, a concession stand could be erected where beer, candles, and 8x10 glossies of the Last Supper (suitable for framing) could be sold.



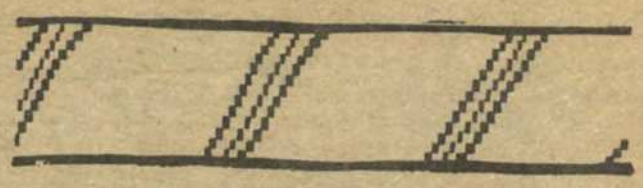
During the rest of the year, proceeds from this event could be used to operate a small Anglo Museum in which could be displayed the bones of Prescott residents dug up from a nearby cemetery. Also, travel expenses for the Honki People to enter parades across the country as best-dressed Pilgrims could be paid from this money. There would, no doubt, be some money left over and it could be spent on parties or beer for the hard-working dancers and their families — no need sharing any of it with the white man.

The Indian People performing these ceremonies would take great pains to duplicate to perfection the costumes, songs, and religious practices of the white businessman. And because of this concern for exacting authentic reproduction of white ways, no white man in his right mind would become upset and raise a stink. It would be the sort of ceremony that could help bridge the gap between Red and White. It could act as a mirror for understanding, as well as a means of teaching the young what they have missed.

Jim Hills
Prescott, Arizona

Tides Are Turning





GANIENKEH

It is two years today,
two times the turning
of the great wheel

cold rain falls,
thunder beings
speak in distant hills

From aerial photos
(a state senator says)
you can see cut trees
and the bodies
of old cars

how can these people say
(he says)
that they love nature
when they do this

to a place that once was
a girl scouts' camp

It is two years,
two times the snows
have fallen softly
the way the new Earth
came into being
falling softly

two times the small frogs
have awakened and sung
new life into the marshes

two times the new corn
has lifted green hands
from soil state experts
still swear can never
sustain a crop

and while debates
in the state capitol rage

at the place of the flint
the people are living
their feet sharing the Earth
their hands sharing the work
their eyes sharing the pain
and sharing the laughter
which changes even
the hardness of flint into a song.

Joseph Bruchac



Ray Shackelton /1
RD 1, Box 146
Bristol, Vermont 05443

LIFE

life
one thing i really have
the eternity of
this moment
this space
a quiet noise
comes from
these sacred hills
forests
seas
telling
a sacred way of life
the path of
peace
a light
raising on
our mother earth
bringing freedom
for all creations to see
that life
will rest forever
come with me
and dance
be you
and try to see it
life

now
this is the
beginning

armin 18.1.76

The Grandma-Eyed Baby Song

Hey, little baby
my little baby –
Your body says you' re young
But your eyes say that you're old
so very old

Hey, little baby
my little baby –
Someday you'll be old like me
And I'll be young again

...e seen
...way

my little baby –
I need the wisdom in your eyes
The peace that's in your heart
peace in your heart.

– Susan Freis Ezell

Tides Are Turning

Like the rivers of gold
Song of old, yes!
So the right moment
Dreaming of tomorrow
Black night sorrow
Take the temperature
Contact contract
Afraid to ask
Poetry tied by change
Writing only for now
Moving like seconds
Minding turquoise days
Slipping sunsets
Morning glory today
Realize, I'm seeing
Summer rain, wet ferns
Humidity is fine
Now resting spiders
Weave corridors
Laughing

– Jim Tollerud



Ancient Cherokee man
sits on a sagging slum porch
and stares out to a littered street.

He sucks the end
of a battered cigarette
and tosses it aimlessly
into the gutter.

Next door
the neighbor's slum is all boarded up
(except the roof)
and its small yard is overgrown
with a jungle of brushes and weeds.

That's OK –
neighbor's been dead 8 year anyway.

Ancient Cherokee man
sits on a sagging slum porch
dreaming of Qualla's mountains

But he knows that before his body
will leave this slum,
his spirit will leave his body.

– Inali Bill Clark

Old Crow

as the lord of the dawn appeared
and the plumed serpent returned
an old crow told me
how to have a good life
and he said he learned it naturally

enjoy
keep your eyes open
light the fire and know the fire
whisper all the beauty that surrounds you
underneath
on top
know each place
spread it out
the second time around
more slowly

and each time
sing to that, and you will grow wings

– juan reyna

RISING STRANGER

she died the night after
explaining to me, that poetry
is a source of power, is the
province of every being that chooses it.
fish, star, human.
she sang a Navaho poem but was
out of breath too soon, said
this is power departing, said she
would be leaving soon, behind it.
later that evening she spoke of
friendships with coyotes, the
philosophies of large birds, a
prehistoric sky-woman that created Night,
fires without ends & walking into their smokes.
she chanted over an hour before reaching
for my arm to say that in certain sacred stones
is found water & clouds & dreams carved out,
that she's read my eyes & can tell me the truth,
that her name in my language is Rising Stranger.

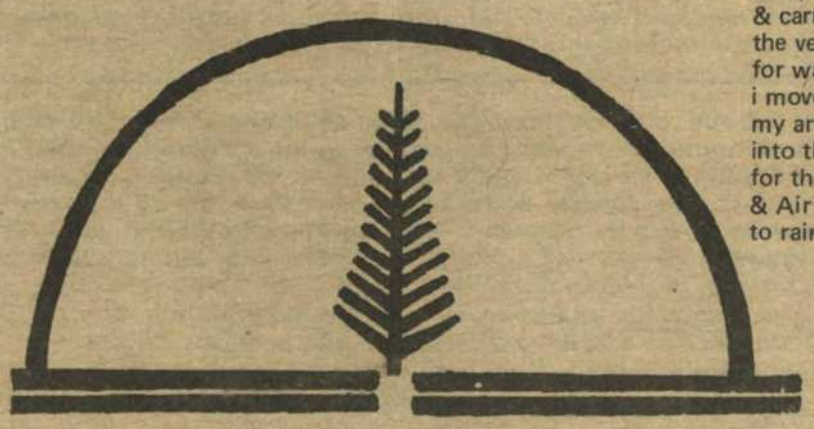
i watch the brown hill of her body under the shroud.
she's left me a star-beggar, warped & wind-
ridden, sun-ripped.
her bloodsong ascends in the sky's
face, singing the stories & visions
& carnival death chants, leaving me
the veteran of legs & songs, a fresh stone
for water & clouds & dreams.
i move just outside the door & stand
my arm up
into the dark dawn clouds, ready
for the entire imaginations of Earth
& Air to rain,
to rain into my body.

– Richard Currey
Albuquerque
September 1974

To My Son

To my son
Young Sioux boy
Unaware of the hurt of your blood
Potential you possess
To enjoy
Rich brown earth
Trees
Flowing rivers
Golden suns
Grow fast, before they are swept away
By people oblivious to your existence.

– Margo Cassis



whisper all the beauty that surrounds you....